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THE

WORKS

OF

ROGER ASCHAM.

1767

THE

ENGLISH WORKS

OF

ROGER ASCHAM,

PRECEPTOR to QUEEN ELIZABETH:

CONTAINING,

I. A REPORT of the AFFAIRS of GERMANY, and the Emperor CHARLES the FIFTH's COURT.

II. TOXOPHILUS, or the SCHOOL of SHOOTING.

III. The SCHOOLMASTER, or perfect Way of bringing up Youth, illuſtrated by the late learned Mr. UPTON.

IV. LETTERS to Queen ELIZABETH and others, now firſt publiſhed from the Manuſcripts.

With NOTES and OBSERVATIONS, and the AUTHOR's LIFE.

By JAMES BENNET,

Maſter of the Boarding-School at HODDESDON in HERTFORDSHIRE.

LONDON:

Printed for T. DAVIES, in RUSSELL-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN,

And J. DODSLEY, in PALL-MALL.

1767

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,

Earl of SHAFTESBURY, Baron ASHLEY, LORD LIEUTENANT and CUSTOS ROTULORUM of DORSETSHIRE, F. R. S.

My LORD,

HAving endeavoured, by an elegant and uſeful edition, to recover the eſteem of the publick to an authour undeſervedly neglected, the only care which I now owe to his me-

 mory,

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mory, is that of inſcribing his works to a patron whoſe acknowledged eminence of character may awaken attention, and attract regard.

I have not ſuffered the zeal of an editor ſo far to take poſſeſſion of my mind, as that I ſhould obtrude upon your Lordſhip any productions unſuitable to the dignity of your rank or of your ſentiments. *Aſcham* was not only the chief ornament of a celebrated college, but viſited foreign countries, frequented courts, and lived in familiarity with ſtateſmen and princes; not only inſtructed ſcholars in literature, but formed *Elizabeth* to empire.

To propagate the works of ſuch a writer will be not unworthy of your Lordſhip's patriotiſm: for I know not what greater benefit you can confer on your country, than that of preſerving worthy names from oblivion, by joining them with your own.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt obliged,

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JAMES BENNET.

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THE

THE

LIFE

OF

ROGER ASCHAM.

IT often happens to writers, that they are known only by their works; the incidents of a literary life are ſeldom obſerved, and therefore ſeldom recounted; but *Aſcham* has eſcaped the common fate by the friendſhip of *Edward Graunt*, the learned maſter of *Weſtminſter* ſchool, who dēvoted an oration to his memory, and has marked the various viciſſitudes of his fortune. *Graunt* either avoided the labour of minute inquiry, or thought domeſtick occurrences unworthy of his notice; or preferring the character of an orator to that of an hiſtorian, ſelected only ſuch particulars as he could beſt expreſs, or moſt happily embelliſh. His narrative is therefore ſcanty, and I know not by what materials it can now be amplified.

Roger Aſcham was born in the year 1515, at *Kirby Wiſke*, (or *Kirby Wicke)* a village near *Northallerton* in *Yorkſhire*, of a family above the vulgar. His father *John Aſcham* was houſe-ſteward in the family of *Scroop*, and in that age, when the different orders of men were at a greater diſtance from each other, and the manners of gentlemen were regularly formed by menial ſervices in great houſes, lived with a very conſpicuous reputation. *Margaret Aſcham*, his wife, is ſaid to have

been allied to many conſiderable families, but her maiden name is not recorded. She had three ſons, of whom *Roger* was the youngeſt, and ſome daughters; but who can hope, that of any progeny more than one ſhall deſerve to be mentioned? They lived married ſixty-ſeven years, and at laſt died together almoſt on the ſame hour of the ſame day.

Roger having paſſed his firſt years under the care of his parents, was adopted into the family of ~~*Antony*~~ *Humphrey Wingfield*, who maintained him, and committed his education, with that of his own ſons, to the care of one *Bond*, a domeſtick tutor. He very early diſcovered an unuſual fondneſs for literature by an eager peruſal of *Engliſh* books, and having paſſed happily through the ſcholaſtick rudiments, was put, in 1530, by his patron *Wingfield*, to St. *John*'s college in *Cambridge*.

Aſcham entered *Cambridge* at a time when the laſt great revolution of the intellectual world was filling every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The deſtruction of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire had driven the *Greeks* with their language into the interiour parts of *Europe*, the art of printing had made the books eaſily attainable, and *Greek* now began to be taught in *England*. The doctrines of *Luther* had already filled all the nations of the *Romiſh* communion with controverſy and diſſention. New ſtudies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were deſirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. Learning was at that time proſecuted with that eagerneſs and perſeverance which in this age of indifference and diſſipation it is not eaſy to conceive. To teach or to learn was at once the buſineſs and the pleaſure of the academical life; and an emulation of ſtudy was raiſed by *Cheke* and *Smith*, to which even the preſent age perhaps owes many advantages, without remembering or knowing its benefactors.

Aſcham ſoon reſolved to unite himſelf to thoſe who were enlarging the bounds of knowledge, and immediately upon his admiſſion into the college, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of *Greek*. Thoſe who were zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends to the old religion; and *Aſcham*, as he became a *Grecian*, became a proteſtant. The reformation was not yet begun, diſaffection to popery was conſidered as a crime juſtly puniſhed by excluſion from favour and preferment, and

and was not yet openly profeſſed, though ſuperſtition was gradually loſing its hold upon the publick. The ſtudy of *Greek* was reputable enough, and *Aſcham* perſued it with diligence and ſucceſs equally conſpicuous. He thought a language might be moſt eaſily learned by teaching it; and when he had obtained ſome proficiency in *Greek*, read lectures, while he was yet a boy, to other boys who were deſirous of inſtruction. His induſtry was much encouraged by *Pember*, a man of great eminence at that time, though I know not that he has left any monuments behind him, but what the gratitude of his friends and ſcholars has beſtowed. He was one of the great encouragers of *Greek* learning, and particularly applauded *Aſcham*'s lectures, aſſuring him in a letter, of which *Graunt* has preſerved an extract, that he would gain more knowledge by explaining one of *Æſop*'s fables to a boy, than by hearing one of *Homer*'s poems explained by another.

Aſcham took his bachelor's degree in 1534, *February* 18, in the eighteenth year of his age; a time of life at which it is more common now to enter the univerſities than to take degrees, but which, according to the modes of education then in uſe, had nothing of remarkable prematurity. On the 23d of *March* following, he was choſen fellow of the college; which election he conſidered as a ſecond birth. Dr. *Metcalf*, the maſter of the college, *a man*, as *Aſcham* tells us, *meanly learned himſelf, but no mean encourager of learning in others*, clandeſtinely promoted his election, though he openly ſeemed firſt to oppoſe it, and afterwards to cenſure it, becauſe *Aſcham* was known to favour the new opinions; and the maſter himſelf was accuſed of giving an unjuſt preference to the northern men, one of the factions into which this nation was divided, before we could find any more important reaſon of diſſention, than that ſome were born on the northern and ſome on the ſouthern ſide of *Trent*. Any cauſe is ſufficient for a quarrel, and the zealots of the north and ſouth lived long in ſuch animoſity, that it was thought neceſſary at *Oxford* to keep them quiet by chuſing one proctor every year from each.

He ſeems to have been hitherto ſupported by the bounty of *Wingfield*, which his attainment of a fellowſhip now freed him from the neceſſity of receiving. Dependance, though in thoſe days it was more common, and therefore leſs irkſome than in the preſent ſtate of things, can never

have been free from diſcontent; and therefore he that was releaſed from it muſt always have rejoiced. The danger is, leſt the joy of eſcaping from the patron may not leave ſufficient memory of the benefactor. Of this forgetfulneſs *Aſcham* cannot be accuſed; for he is recorded to have preſerved the moſt grateful and affectionate reverence for *Wingfield*, and to have never grown weary of recounting his benefits.

His reputation ſtill increaſed, and many reſorted to his chamber to hear the *Greek* writers explained. He was likewiſe eminent for other accompliſhments. By the advice of *Pember*, he had learned to play on muſical inſtruments, and he was one of the few who excelled in the mechanical art of writing, which then began to be cultivated among us, and in which we now ſurpaſs all other nations. He not only wrote his pages with neatneſs, but embelliſhed them with elegant draughts and illuminations; an art at that time ſo highly valued, that it contributed much both to his fame and his fortune.

He became maſter of arts in *March* 1537, in his twenty-firſt year; and then, if not before, commenced tutor, and publickly undertook the education of young men. A tutor of one and twenty, however accompliſhed with learning, however exalted by genius, would now gain little reverence or obedience; but in thoſe days of diſcipline and regularity, the authority of the ſtatutes eaſily ſupplied that of the teacher; all power that was lawful was reverenced. Beſides, young tutors had ſtill younger pupils.

Aſcham is ſaid to have courted his ſcholars to ſtudy by every incitement, to have treated them with great kindneſs, and to have taken care at once to inſtill learning and piety, to inlighten their minds and to form their manners. Many of his ſcholars roſe to great eminence, and among them *William Grindal* was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, that by *Cheke*'s recommendation he was called to court as a proper maſter of languages for the lady *Elizabeth*.

There was yet no eſtabliſhed lecturer of *Greek*; the univerſity therefore appointed *Aſcham* to read in the open ſchools, and paid him out of the publick purſe an honorary ſtipend, ſuch as was then reckoned ſufficiently liberal;

liberal: a lecture was afterwards founded by King *Henry*, and he then quitted the ſchools, but continued to explain *Greek* authours in his own college.

He was at firſt an opponent of the new pronunciation introduced, or rather of the ancient reſtored about this time by *Cheke* and *Smith*, and made ſome cautious ſtruggles for the common practice, which the credit and dignity of his antagoniſts did not permit to defend very publickly, or with much vehemence: nor were they long his antagoniſts; for either his affection for their merit, or his conviction of the cogency of their arguments, ſoon changed his opinion and his practice, and he adhered ever after to their method of utterance.

Of this controverſy it is not neceſſary to give a circumſtantial account; ſomething of it may be found in *Strype*'s Life of *Smith*, and ſomething in *Baker*'s Reflexions upon learning: it is ſufficient to remark here, that *Cheke*'s pronunciation was that which now prevails in the ſchools of *England*. Diſquiſitions not only verbal, but merely literal, are too minute for popular narration.

He was not leſs eminent as a writer of *Latin*, than as a teacher of *Greek*. All the publick letters of the univerſity were of his compoſition; and as little qualifications muſt often bring great abilities into notice, he was recommended to this honourable employment not leſs by the neatneſs of his hand, than the elegance of his ſtyle.

However great was his learning, he was not always immured in his chamber; but being valetudinary, and weak of body, thought it neceſſary to ſpend many hours in ſuch exerciſes as might beſt relieve him after the fatigue of ſtudy. His favourite amuſement was archery, in which he ſpent, or, in the opinion of others, loſt ſo much time, that thoſe whom either his faults or virtues made his enemies, and perhaps ſome whoſe kindneſs wiſhed him always worthily employed, did not ſcruple to cenſure his practice, as unſuitable to a man profeſſing learning, and perhaps of bad example in a place of education.

To free himſelf from this cenſure was one of the reaſons for which he publiſhed, in 1544, his *Toxophilus*, or the Schole or Partitions of

Shooting, in which he joins the praiſe with the precepts of archery. He deſigned not only to teach the art of ſhooting, but to give an example of diction more natural and more truly *Engliſh* than was uſed by the common writers of that age, whom he cenſures for mingling exotick terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authours not by ſkill or education, but by arrogance and temerity.

He has not failed in either of his purpoſes. He has ſufficiently vindicated archery as an innocent, ſalutary, uſeful, and liberal diverſion; and if his precepts are of no great uſe, he has only ſhown by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can conduce to dexterity. In every art practice is much; in arts manual practice is almoſt the whole. Precept can at moſt but warn againſt errour, it can never beſtow excellence.

The bow has been ſo long diſuſed, that moſt *Engliſh* readers have forgotten its importance, though it was the weapon by which we gained the battle of *Agincourt*, a weapon which when handled by *Engliſh* yeomen, no foreign troops were able to reſiſt. We were not only abler of body than the *French*, and therefore ſuperiour in the uſe of arms, which are forcible only in proportion to the ſtrength with which they are handled, but the national practice of ſhooting for pleaſure or for prizes, by which every man was inured to archery from his infancy, gave us inſuperable advantage, the bow requiring more practice to ſkilful uſe than any other inſtrument of offence.

Fire-arms were then in their infancy; and though battering pieces had been ſome time in uſe, I know not whether any ſoldiers were armed with hand-guns when the *Toxophilus* was firſt publiſhed: they were ſoon after uſed by the *Spaniſh* troops, whom other nations made haſte to imitate: but how little they could yet effect, will be underſtood from the account given by the ingenious authour of the exerciſe for the *Norfolk* militia.

" The firſt muſkets were very heavy, and could not be fired without
" a reſt; they had match-locks, and barrels of a wide bore, that car-
" ried

" ried a large ball and charge of powder, and did execution at a greater " diſtance.

" The muſketeers on a march carried only their reſts and ammuni- " tion, and had boys to bear their muſkets after them, for which they " were allowed great additional pay.

" They were very ſlow in loading, not only by reaſon of the un- " wieldineſs of the pieces, and becauſe they carried the powder and " balls ſeparate, but from the time it took to prepare and adjuſt the " match; ſo that their fire was not near ſo briſk as ours is now. Af- " terwards a lighter kind of match-lock muſket came into uſe, and they " carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts that " came over the ſhoulder, to which were hung ſeveral little caſes of " wood covered with leather, each containing a charge of powder; the " balls they carried looſe in a pouch; and they had alſo a priming horn " hanging by their ſide.

" The old *Engliſh* writers call thoſe large muſkets calivers: the har- " quebuze was a lighter piece, that could be fired without a reſt. The " match-lock was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in the ſer- " pentine or cock, which by pulling the trigger, was brought down " with great quickneſs upon the priming in the pan; over which there " was a ſliding cover, which was drawn back by the hand juſt at the " time of firing. There was a great deal of nicety and care required " to fit the match properly to the cock, ſo as to come down exactly true " on the priming, to blow the aſhes from the coal, and to guard the " pan from the ſparks that fell from it. A great deal of time was alſo " loſt in taking it out of the cock, and returning it between the fingers " of the left hand every time that the piece was fired; and wet weather " often rendered the matches uſeleſs."

While this was the ſtate of fire-arms, and this ſtate continued among us to the civil war with very little improvement, it is no wonder that the long bow was preferred by Sir *John Smith*, who wrote of the choice of weapons in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the uſe of the bow ſtill continued, though the muſket was gradually prevailing. Sir *John Hayward*,

Hayward, a writer yet later, has in his hiſtory of the *Norman* kings endeavoured to evince the ſuperiority of the archer to the muſketeer: however, in the long peace of King *James*, the bow was wholly forgotten. Guns have from that time been the weapons of the *Engliſh*, as of other nations, and as they are now improved, are certainly more efficacious.

Aſcham had yet another reaſon, if not for writing his book, at leaſt for preſenting it to King *Henry*. *England* was not then what it may be now juſtly termed, the capital of literature, and therefore thoſe who aſpired to ſuperiour degrees of excellence thought it neceſſary to travel into other countries. The purſe of *Aſcham* was not equal to the expence of peregrination; and therefore he hoped to have it augmented by a penſion. Nor was he wholly diſappointed; for the King rewarded him with an yearly payment of ten pounds.

A penſion of ten pounds granted by a king of *England* to a man of letters, appears to modern readers ſo contemptible a benefaction, that it is not unworthy of enquiry what might be its value at that time, and how much *Aſcham* might be enriched by it. Nothing is more uncertain than the eſtimation of wealth by denominated money; the precious metals never retain long the ſame proportion to real commodities, and the ſame names in different ages do not imply the ſame quantity of metal; ſo that it is equally difficult to know how much money was contained in any nominal ſum, and to find what any ſuppoſed quantity of gold or ſilver would purchaſe; both which are neceſſary to the commenſuration of money, or the adjuſtment of proportion between the ſame ſums at different periods of time.

A numeral pound in King *Henry*'s time contained, as now, twenty ſhillings; and therefore it muſt be inquired what twenty ſhillings could perform. Bread-corn is the moſt certain ſtandard of the neceſſaries of life. Wheat was generally ſold at that time for one ſhilling the buſhel: if therefore we take five ſhillings the buſhel for the current price, ten pounds were equivalent to fifty. But here is danger of a fallacy. It may be doubted, whether wheat was the general bread-corn of that age; and if rye, barley, or oats, were the common food, and wheat, as I ſuſpect,

ſuſpect, only a delicacy, the value of wheat will not regulate the price of other things. This doubt is however in favour of *Aſcham*; for if we raiſe the worth of wheat, we raiſe that of his penſion.

But the value of money has another variation, which we are ſtill leſs able to aſcertain: the rules of cuſtom or the different needs of artificial life, make that revenue little at one time which is great at another. Men are rich and poor, not only in proportion to what they have, but to what they want. In ſome ages, not only neceſſaries are cheaper, but fewer things are neceſſary. In the age of *Aſcham*, moſt of the elegancies and expences of our preſent faſhions were unknown: commerce had not yet diſtributed ſuperfluity through the lower claſſes of the people, and the character of a ſtudent implied frugality, and required no ſplendour to ſupport it. His penſion, therefore, reckoning together the wants which he could ſupply, and the wants from which he was exempt, may be eſtimated, in my opinion, at more than one hundred pounds a-year; which, added to the income of his fellowſhip, put him far enough above diſtreſs.

This was an year of good fortune to *Aſcham*. He was choſen orator to the univerſity on the removal of Sir *John Cheke* to court, where he was made tutor to Prince *Edward*. A man once diſtinguiſhed ſoon gains admirers. *Aſcham* was now received to notice by many of the nobility, and by great ladies, among whom it was then the faſhion to ſtudy the ancient languages. *Lee* archbiſhop of *York* allowed him an yearly penſion; how much, we are not told. He was, probably about this time, employed in teaching many illuſtrious perſons to write a fine hand, and among others *Henry* and *Charles*, dukes of *Suffolk*, the princeſs *Elizabeth*, and prince *Edward*.

Henry VIII. died two years after, and a reformation of religion being now openly proſecuted by King *Edward* and his council, *Aſcham*, who was known to favour it, had a new grant of his penſion, and continued at *Cambridge*, where he lived in great familiarity with *Bucer*, who had been called from *Germany* to the profeſſorſhip of divinity. But his retirement was ſoon at an end; for in 1548 his pupil *Grindal*, the maſter

of the princeſs *Elizabeth*, died, and the princeſs, who had already ſome acquaintance with *Aſcham*, called him from his college to direct her ſtudies. He obeyed the ſummons, as we may eaſily believe, with readineſs, and for two years inſtructed her with great diligence; but then being diſguſted either by her or her domeſticks, or perhaps eager for another change of life, he left her without her conſent, and returned to the univerſity. Of this precipitation he long repented; and as thoſe who are not accuſtomed to diſreſpect, cannot eaſily forgive it, he probably felt the effects of his imprudence to his death.

After having viſited *Cambridge*, he took a journey into *Yorkſhire* to ſee his native place and his old acquaintance, and there received a letter from the court, informing him, that he was appointed ſecretary to Sir *Richard Moriſine*, who was to be diſpatched as ambaſſador into *Germany*. In his return to *London* he paid that memorable viſit to lady *Jane Gray*, in which he found her reading the *Phædo* in *Greek*, as he has related in his *Schoolmaſter*.

In the year 1550 he attended *Moriſine* to *Germany*, and wandered over a great part of the country, making obſervations upon all that appeared worthy of his curioſity, and contracting acquaintance with men of learning. To his correſpondent *Sturmius* he paid a viſit, but *Sturmius* was not at home, and thoſe two illuſtrious friends never ſaw each other. During the courſe of this embaſſy, *Aſcham* undertook to improve *Moriſine* in *Greek*, and for four days in the week explained ſome pages of *Herodotus* every morning, and more than two hundred verſes of *Sophocles* or *Euripides* every afternoon. He read with him likewiſe ſome of the orations of *Demoſthenes*. On the other days he compiled the letters of buſineſs, and in the night filled up his diary, digeſted his remarks, and wrote private letters to his friends in *England*, and particularly to thoſe of his college, whom he continually exhorted to perſeverance in ſtudy. Amidſt all the pleaſures of novelty, which his travels ſupplied, and in the dignity of his publick ſtation, he preferred the tranquillity of private ſtudy, and the quiet of academical retirement. The reaſonableneſs of this choice has been always diſputed; and in the contrariety of human intereſts and diſpoſitions, the controverſy will not eaſily be decided.

He made a ſhort excurſion into *Italy*, and mentions in his *Schoolmaſter* with great ſeverity the vices of *Venice*. He was deſirous of viſiting *Trent* while the council were ſitting; but the ſcantineſs of his purſe defeated his curioſity.

In this journey he wrote his *Report and Diſcourſe of the Affaires in Germany*, in which he deſcribes the diſpoſitions and intereſts of the *German* princes like a man inquiſitive and judicious, and recounts many particularities which are loſt in the maſs of general hiſtory, in a ſtyle which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous, and which is now a very valuable ſpecimen of genuine *Engliſh*.

By the death of King *Edward* in 1553, the reformation was ſtopped, *Moriſine* was recalled, and *Aſcham*'s penſion and hopes were at an end. He therefore retired to his fellowſhip in a ſtate of diſappointment and deſpair, which his biographer has endeavoured to expreſs in the deepeſt ſtrain of plaintive declamation. *He was deprived of all his ſupport*, ſays *Graunt*, *ſtripped of his penſion, and cut off from the aſſiſtance of his friends, who had now loſt their influence*; *ſo that he had* NEC PRÆMIA NEC PRÆDIA, *neither penſion nor eſtate to ſupport him at* Cambridge. There is no credit due to a rhetorician's account either of good or evil. The truth is, that *Aſcham* ſtill had in his fellowſhip all that in the early part of his life had given him plenty, and might have lived like the other inhabitants of the college, with the advantage of more knowledge and higher reputation. But notwithſtanding his love of academical retirement, he had now too long enjoyed the pleaſures and feſtivities of publick life, to return with a good will to academical poverty.

He had however better fortune than he expected, and, if he lamented his condition like his hiſtorian, better than he deſerved. He had during his abſence in *Germany* been appointed *Latin* ſecretary to King *Edward*; and by the intereſt of *Gardiner* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was inſtated in the ſame office under *Philip* and *Mary*, with a ſalary of twenty pounds a-year.

Soon after his admiſſion to his new employment, he gave an extraordinary ſpecimen of his abilities and diligence, by compoſing and tranſcribing

ſcribing with his uſual elegance, in three days, forty-ſeven letters to princes and perſonages, of whom cardinals were the loweſt.

How *Aſcham*, who was known to be a proteſtant, could preſerve the favour of *Gardiner*, and hold a place of honour and profit in Queen *Mary*'s court, it muſt be very natural to inquire. *Cheke*, as is well known, was compelled to a recantation; and why *Aſcham* was ſpared, cannot now be diſcovered. *Graunt*, at a time when the tranſactions of Queen *Mary*'s reign muſt have been well enough remembered, declares, that *Aſcham* always made open profeſſion of the reformed religion, and that *Engleſfield* and others often endeavoured to incite *Gardiner* againſt him, but found their accuſations rejected with contempt: yet he allows, that ſuſpicions and charges of temporization and compliance had ſomewhat ſullied his reputation. The authour of the *Biographia Britannica* conjectures, that he owed his ſafety to his innocence and uſefulneſs; that it would have been unpopular to attack a man ſo little liable to cenſure, and that the loſs of his pen could not have been eaſily ſupplied. But the truth is, that morality was never ſuffered in the days of perſecution to protect hereſy; nor are we ſure that *Aſcham* was more clear from common failings than thoſe who ſuffered more; and whatever might be his abilities, they were not ſo neceſſary but *Gardiner* could have eaſily filled his place with another ſecretary. Nothing is more vain, than at a diſtant time to examine the motives of diſcrimination and partiality; for the inquirer having conſidered intereſt and policy, is obliged at laſt to omit more frequent and more active motives of human conduct, caprice, accident, and private affections.

At that time, if ſome were puniſhed, many were forborn; and of many why ſhould not *Aſcham* happen to be one? He ſeems to have been calm and prudent, and content with that peace which he was ſuffered to enjoy; a mode of behaviour that ſeldom fails to produce ſecurity. He had been abroad in the laſt years of King *Edward*, and had at leaſt given no recent offence. He was certainly, according to his own opinion, not much in danger; for in the next year he reſigned his fellowſhip, which by *Gardiner*'s favour he had continued to hold, though not reſident; and married *Margaret Howe*, a young gentlewoman of a good family.

He

He was diſtinguiſhed in this reign by the notice of Cardinal *Poole*, a man of great candour, learning, and gentleneſs of manners, and particularly eminent for his ſkill in *Latin*, who thought highly of *Aſcham*'s ſtyle; of which it is no inconſiderable proof, that when *Poole* was deſirous of communicating a ſpeech made by himſelf as legate, in parliament, to the Pope, he employed *Aſcham* to tranſlate it.

He is ſaid to have been not only protected by the officers of ſtate, but favoured and countenanced by the Queen herſelf; ſo that he had no reaſon of complaint in that reign of turbulence and perſecution: nor was his fortune much mended, when in 1558 his pupil *Elizabeth* mounted the throne. He was continued in his former employment, with the ſame ſtipend: but though he was daily admitted to the preſence of the Queen, aſſiſted her private ſtudies, and partook of her diverſions; ſometimes read to her in the learned languages, and ſometimes played with her at draughts and cheſs; he added nothing to his twenty pounds a-year but the prebend of *Weſtwang* in the church of *York*, which was given him the year following. His fortune was therefore not proportionate to the rank which his offices and reputation gave him, or to the favour in which he ſeemed to ſtand with his miſtreſs. Of this parſimonious allotment it is again a hopeleſs ſearch to inquire the reaſon. The Queen was not naturally bountiful, and perhaps did not think it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh by any prodigality of kindneſs a man who had formerly deſerted her, and whom ſhe might ſtill ſuſpect of ſerving rather for intereſt than affection. *Graunt* exerts his rhetorical powers in praiſe of *Aſcham*'s diſintereſtedneſs and contempt of money; and declares, that though he was often reproached by his friends with neglect of his own intereſt, he never would aſk any thing, and inflexibly refuſed all preſents which his office or imagined intereſt induced any to offer him. *Camden*, however, imputes the narrowneſs of his condition to his love of dice and cock-fights: and *Graunt* forgetting himſelf, allows that *Aſcham* was ſometimes thrown into agonies by diſappointed expectations. It may be eaſily diſcovered from his *Schoolmaſter*, that he felt his wants, though he might neglect to ſupply them; and we are left to ſuſpect, that he ſhewed his contempt of money only by loſing it at play. If this was his practice, we may excuſe *Elizabeth*, who knew the domeſtick character of her ſervants, if ſhe did not give much to him who was laviſh of a little.

However

However he might fail in his œconomy, it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man who ſhared his frailties with all, but whoſe learning or virtues few can attain, and by whoſe excellencies many may be improved, while himſelf only ſuffered by his faults.

In the reign of *Elizabeth* nothing remarkable is known to have befallen him, except that, in 1563, he was invited by Sir *Edward Sackville* to write the *Schoolmaſter*, a treatiſe on education, upon an occaſion which he relates in the beginning of the book. This work, though begun with alacrity, in hopes of a conſiderable reward, was interrupted by the death of the patron, and afterwards ſorrowfully and ſlowly finiſhed, in the gloom of diſappointment, under the preſſure of diſtreſs. But of the authour's diſinclination or dejection there can be found no tokens in the work, which is conceived with great vigour, and finiſhed with great accuracy; and perhaps contains the beſt advice that was ever given for the ſtudy of languages.

This treatiſe he compleated, but did not publiſh; for that poverty which in our days drives authours ſo haſtily in ſuch numbers to the preſs, in the time of *Aſcham*, I believe, debarred them from it. The printers gave little for a copy, and, if we may believe the tale of *Raleigh*'s hiſtory, were not forward to print what was offered them for nothing. *Aſcham*'s book therefore lay unſeen in his ſtudy, and was at laſt dedicated to Lord *Cecil* by his widow.

Aſcham never had a robuſt or vigorous body, and his excuſe for ſo many hours of diverſion was his inability to endure a long continuance of ſedentary thought. In the latter part of his life he found it neceſſary to forbear any intenſe application of the mind from dinner to bed-time, and roſe to read and write early in the morning. He was for ſome years hectically feveriſh; and though he found ſome alleviation of his diſtemper, never obtained a perfect recovery of his health. The immediate cauſe of his laſt ſickneſs was too cloſe application to the compoſition of a poem, which he purpoſed to preſent to the Queen on the day of her acceſſion. To finiſh this he forbore to ſleep at his accuſtomed hours, till in *December* 1568 he fell ſick of a kind of lingering diſeaſe, which *Graunt* has not named, nor accurately deſcribed. The moſt afflictive

fliƈtive ſymptom was want of ſleep, which he endeavoured to obtain by the motion of a cradle. Growing every day weaker, he found it vain to contend with his diſtemper, and prepared to die with the reſignation and piety of a true Chriſtian. He was attended on his deathbed by *Gravet* vicar of St. *Sepulchre*, and Dr. *Nowel*, the learned dean of St. *Paul*'s, who gave ample teſtimony to the decency and devotion of his concluding life. He frequently teſtified his deſire of that diſſolution which he ſoon obtained. His funeral-ſermon was preached by Dr. *Nowel*.

Roger Aſcham died in the fifty-third year of his age, at a time when, according to the general courſe of life, much might yet have been expected from him, and when he might have hoped for much from others: but his abilities and his wants were at an end together; and who can determine, whether he was cut off from advantages, or reſcued from calamities? He appears to have been not much qualified for the improvement of his fortune. His diſpoſition was kind and ſocial; he delighted in the pleaſures of converſation, and was probably not much inclined to buſineſs. This may be ſuſpected from the paucity of his writings. He has left little behind him, and of that little nothing was publiſhed by himſelf but the *Toxophilus*, and the account of *Germany*. The *Schoolmaſter* was printed by his widow, and the Epiſtles were collected by *Graunt*, who dedicated them to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might have an opportunity of recommending his ſon *Giles Aſcham* to her patronage. The dedication was not loſt: the young man was made by the Queen's mandate fellow of a college in *Cambridge*, where he obtained conſiderable reputation. What was the effect of his widow's dedication to *Cecil*, is not known: it may be hoped that *Aſcham*'s works obtained for his family, after his deceaſe, that ſupport which he did not in his life very plenteouſly procure them.

Whether he was poor by his own fault or the fault of others, cannot now be decided; but it is certain that many have been rich with leſs merit. His philological learning would have gained him honour in any country, and among us it may juſtly call for that reverence which all nations owe to thoſe who firſt rouſe them from ignorance, and kindle among them the light of literature. Of his manners nothing can be

ſaid

ſaid but from his own teſtimony and that of his contemporaries. Thoſe who mention him allow him many virtues. His courteſy, benevolence, and liberality, are celebrated; and of his piety we have not only the teſtimony of his friends, but the evidence of his writings.

That his *Engliſh* works have been ſo long neglected, is a proof of the uncertainty of literary fame. He was ſcarcely known as an authour in his own language till Mr. *Upton* publiſhed his *Schoolmaſter* with learned notes, which are inſerted in this edition. His other pieces were read only by thoſe few who delight in obſolete books; but as they are now collected into one volume, with the addition of ſome letters never printed before, the publick has an opportunity of recompenſing the injury, and allotting *Aſcham* the reputation due to his knowledge and his eloquence.

A REPORT

A

REPORT and DISCOURSE

Written by ROGER ASCHAM, of the Affaires and State of *Germany* and the Emperour *Charles* his Court, during certaine Yeares while the ſayd ROGER was there.

AT LONDON

Printed by JOHN DAYE, dwelling ouer ALDERSGATE.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis, per Decennium.

B

JOHN ASTELY to R. ASCHAM.

I Now finde true by experience, which I have oft heard of others, and ſometymes read my ſelfe: that men make no ſuch accompt of commodities when they haue them, as when they want them. I meane this by our friendly fellowſhyp together at *Cheſton Chelſey*, and here at *Hatfield* her graces houſe: our pleaſant ſtudies in readying together *Ariſtotles Rhetorike*, *Cicero*, and *Liuie*, our free talke mingled alwayes with honeſt mirth, our trimme conferences of that preſent world, and too true iudgementes of the troubleſome tyme that followed.

Theſe commodities I now remember with ſome grief, which we then vſed with much pleaſure, beſides many other fruites of frendſhyp that faythful good will could affourd. And theſe thinckynges cauſe me oft to wiſh, either you to be here with vs, or me to be there with you: but what wiſhyng is nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which will wanteth. I wil ceaſe from wiſhyng, and ſeeke the true remedy for this ſore: And that is whileſt we meet agayne in deede, in the meane while to eaſe our deſires with oft writyng the one to the other. I would in deede I had been partaker in your company, of that your pleaſaunt abſence out of your countrey: and becauſe I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your Letters of ſome fruite of that your iourney.

We heare of great ſturres in thoſe parties: and how the Emperour, a Prince of great wiſedome and great power, hath bene driuen to extreme ſhiftes, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes, and not by the puiſantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemyes. I know you were wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all ſuch great affaires: And you know lykewiſe how deſirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therefore I pray you, that we your frendes beying at home may enioye by your

letters a pleaſant memory of you in that tyme whileſt you be abſent abroad. Farewell in *Chriſt*, from *Hatfield* xix. *Octobris* 1552.

R. ASCHAM to JOHN ASTELY.

SALUTEM Plurimam in Chriſto Jeſu. That part of your Letter from *Hatfield*, decimo nono Octob. renewing a moſt pleaſaunt memory of our frendly fellowſhip together, and full of your wonted good will towardes me: I aunſwered immediatly from *Spires* by *Fraunces* the Poſt: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might have heard tell of it in M. Secretary *Cicels* chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wiſh, to haue bene with me, in this mine abſence from my Countrey: and for your requeſt, to be made partaker by my letters of the ſturre of theſe times here in *Germany*. Surely I would you had your wiſh: for then ſhould not I now nede to bungle up yours ſo great a requeſt, when preſently you ſhould haue ſene with much pleaſure, which now peraduenture you ſhall read * with ſome doubt, leſſe thynges may encreaſe by writyng which were ſo great in doyng, as I am more afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, than to gather vp more than hath ſprong of the trouth.

Your requeſt conteineth few wordes but comprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As firſt the cauſes of the open inuaſion by the *Turke:* of the ſecret workying for ſuch ſoddeyne brecheſſe in *Italy*, and *Germany:* of the fine fetches in the *French* practiſes: of the double dealyng of *Rome* with all partes: then more particular why Duke *Octauio*, the Prince of *Salerne*, Marches *Albert*, and Duke *Maurice* brake ſo out with the Emperour, which were all ſo faſt knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could aſſure him of them: *Octauio* being his Sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches *Albert* hys kynſman, and Duke *Maurice* ſo inhaunſed with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wiſhed greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is ſtuffe

* *With ſome doubt, leſſe*, &c.] That is, with ſome doubt leſt I ſhould have magnified in my narrative things that were ſo great in real action.

plenty

plenty to furniſh well up a trimme hiſtory if a workeman hath it in handlyng. When you and I read *Liuie* together if you do remember, after ſome reaſonyng we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduiſedly write an hiſtory: Firſt point was, to write nothyng falſe: next, to be bold to ſay any truth, whereby is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: for which two pointes *Cæſar* is read to hys great Prayſe, and *Iouius* the *Italian* to hys juſt reproch. Then to marke diligently the cauſes, counſels, actes, and iſſues in all great attemptes: And in cauſes, which is iuſt or vniuſt: in counſeles, what is propoſed wiſely or raſhly: in actes, what is done couragiouſly or fayntly: And of euery iſſue, to note ſome generall leſſon of wiſedome and warines, for lyke matters in time to come: wherin *Polybius* in *Greeke* and *Phillip Comines* in *French* haue done the duties of wyſe and worthy writers. Diligence alſo muſt be vſed in kepyng truly the order of tyme: and deſcribyng lyuely, both the ſite of places and nature of perſons, not only for the outward ſhape of the Body, but alſo for the inward diſpoſition of the Mynde as *Thucydides* doth in many places very trimly, and *Homer* every where and that alwayes moſt excellently, which obſervation is chiefly to be marked in hym; and our *Chaucer* doth the ſame, very praiſe worthely: marke hym well and conferre hym with any other that writeth of in our tyme in their proudeſt toung whoſoeuer lyſt. Yet ſometime higher and lower as matters do ryſe and fall: for if proper and natural wordes, in well ioyned ſentences do lyuely expreſſe the matter, be it troubleſome, quyet, angrey or pleaſant, a man ſhal thincke not to be readyng but preſent in goyng of the ſame. And herein *Liuie* of all other in any toung, by myne opinion carieth away the prayſe.

C. Cæſar.
P. Iouius.
Polybius.
Phi. Cominnes.
Thucydides.
Homer.
Chaucer.
Titus Liuius.

Syr *Thomas More* in that pamphlet of *Richard* the thyrd, doth in moſt part I beleue of all theſe pointes ſo content all men, as if the reſt of our ſtory of *England* were ſo done, we might well compare with *France*, *Italy*, or *Germany* or in that behalfe. But ſee how the pleaſant remembraunce of our old talk together hath caried me farther than I thought to go. And as for your requeſt to know the cauſe and maner of theſe late ſturres here ye ſhall not looke for ſuch preciſe order now in writyng, as we talked on then. No it is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading and to performe perfectly in doyng. I am not ſo vnaduiſed to take ſo much upon me, nor you ſo unfrendly to looke for ſo much from me.

Tho. Morus.

me. But that you may know that I haue not bene altogether idle in this my abſence, and that I will not come home as one that can ſay nothing of that he hath ſene and heard abroad: I will homely and rudely (yet not altogether diſorderly) part priuately vnto you ſuch notes of affaires as I priuately marked for my ſelfe: which I either felt and ſaw, or learned in ſuch place and of ſuch perſons as had willes to ſeeke for, and ways to come by, and wittes to way the greateſt matters that were to be marked in all theſe affaires. For no wieke almoſt hath paſt in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand for the moſt part of the notable thynges that haue bene attempted in *Turky*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *Fraunce*, and *Germany*. In declaryng to you theſe thyngs I will obſerue onely the firſt two pointes of our wont communication: that is to my writyng I will ſet forward nothyng that is falſe, nor yet keepe backe any thyng that is true. For I playing no part of no one ſide, but ſittyng downe as indifferent looker on, neither *Imperiall* nor *French*, but flat *Engliſh*, do purpoſe with troth to report the matter, and ſeyng I ſhall lyue vnder ſuch a Prince, as Kyng *Edward* is, and in ſuch a Countrey as *England* is (I thanke *God)* I ſhall haue neither neede to flatter the one ſide for profite, nor cauſe to fear the other ſide for diſpleaſure. Therefore let my purpoſe of reportyng the trouth as much content you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may miſlike you. Yet ſpeakyng thus much of trouth, I meane not ſuch a hid trouth as was onely in the breſt of Monſieur *d' Arras* on the Emperours ſide, or in Baron *Hadeck* on Duke *Maurice* ſide, with whom and with on other of his counſeil he onely conferred all his purpoſes three yeares before he brake out with the Emperour: But I meane ſuch a troth as by conferrence and common conſent amongeſt all the Ambaſſadores and Agentes in this Court and other witty and indifferent heades beſide was generally conferred and agreed upon. What better commoditie to know the trouth any writer in *Greeke*, *Latine*, or other toung hath had, I can not perceiue, except onely *Xenophon*, *Cæſar*, and *Phillip Comines:* which two firſt worthy writers wrote their owne actes ſo wiſely, and ſo without all ſuſpicion of parcialitie, as no man hitherto by mine opinion hath borne himſelf ſo vprightly in writyng the hiſtories of others: The thyrd hauing in a manner the like oportunitie hath not deſerued lyke commendations, at leaſt as I ſuppoſe. *England* hath matter and *England* hath men furniſhed with all abilities to write: who if they would might bryng both lyke prayſe vnto them ſelues, and like profite to others, as theſe

theſe two noble men haue done. They lay for their excuſe the lacke of leyſure which is true in deede: But if we conſider the great affaires of *Cæſar* we may iudge hee was worthy to winne all praiſe that was ſo willing and wittie to winne ſuch time when his head and his handes night and day were euer moſt full, would to God that theſe our men as they are ready to prayſe hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and ſo to wynne like prayſe themſelues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate talke from the matter itſelf, I will begyn at the ſpryng of the matter from whence all theſe miſchiefes dyd flow, the which now hath ſo ouerflowed the moſt part of Chriſtendome, as God onely from Heauen muſt make an end of this miſerable tragedie, wherein theſe two great Princes take ſuch pleaſure ſtill to play. In Religion and Libertie were ſayd to be of many men the very cauſes of all theſe ſturries: yet in myne opinion, and as the matter itſelf ſhall well proue it, vnkyndneſs was the very ſede, whereof all theſe troubles did grow. A Knight of *England* of worthy memorie for wit, learnyng and experience, old Syr *Thomas Wiat* wrote to his ſonne that the greateſt miſchief amongeſt men, and leaſt puniſhed is vnkyndnes: the greateſt miſchief truly and leaſt puniſhed alſo by any ordinary law and ſentence, yet as I haue ſene here by experience, vnkyndnes hath ſo wrought with men, as the meane were not affrayd to attempt their reuenge, nor the Emperour able to withſtand their diſpleaſe. Yea vnkyndnes was onely the hoke, which *Henry* the *French* kyng hath vſed theſe late yeares to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hymſelfe, ſo many Princes and great commodities as he hath: with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all miſchief, the *French* kyng hath not ceaſed, to angle at as many harts in *Italy* and *Germany* as he knew any matter of vnkyndnes to be miniſtred vnto, by the Emperour.

The cauſe of the ſturres in Italy and Germany.

Vnkyndnes.

There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leyſure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our priuate talk I wil fully declare that ſome good big matter of vnkindnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour. Yea *Ferdinando* his brother, *Maximilian* his nephew and ſonne in law, the Duke of *Bauarie* and *Cleues* which haue married his nieces haue bene ſhrewdly touched therewith. Alſo the Papiſticall Byſhops as *Mentz*, *Pamburge*, *Herbipolis*, *Saltzburge*, and diuers others haue felt their part herein. Few Princes or States, Proteſtantes

or

or Papiſtes, but haue bene troubled therewith. But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng diſeaſe in the Body vnknowne what it will turne vnto, and yet at laſt it draweth to certaine dayes and houres: euen ſo theſe grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd firſt worke ſecretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy vnkyndnes did ſo ſwell in mens ſtomaches that at length in *Inſpurgh* it braſt out into a ſhrewd ſicknes, whereof the firſt fit was felt to be ſo daungerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more ſpedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed and ſure I am we were wel affrayd then, the ſicknes would haue proued alſo to vs that were preſent with hym very contagious.

Well this grief growyng thus to certaine fittes, and I my ſelfe beyng not greatly grieued at the hart with it but had leyſure enough with ſmall ieoperdy (I thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were ſicke, becauſe I would not be idle amongſt them, I began dayly to note the worKyng of this ſicknes, and namely from the 19th of *May* 1552, when we ranne from *Inſpurgh* til the firſt of next *January* when the ſiege of *Metz* was abandoned. Neuertheles before I come to theſe ordinary dayes I will ſhortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the World 1550, when we came to his Court, had ſoone after ſo many enemyes as he knew not which way to turne hym.

The TURKE.

The brech with the Turke.

THE date of Peace betwixt the Emperour and the *Turke* had to expire an. 1551. The Emperour hearyng what preparation the *Turke* had made the yeare before for Warre and ſpecially by Sea, which muſt needes be agaynſt Chriſtendome, thought it better for hym to ende the Peace with ſome aduantage, then that the *Turke* ſhould begyn the Warre with too much ſtrength, and therefore in Sommer 1550, he ſent *John de Vega* Viceroy of *Cicile* and *Andrea Dorea* into *Barbaria*, who wan the ſtrong towne of *Affrica* from *Dragut Raies* ſometyme a Pirate and now the *Turkes* chief doer in all the affaires of *Affricke* and *Mare Mediterraneo*. This Court raiſed vp other rumors of this breeh with the *Turke* how that this enterprice was made for *Seripho* ſake, a hethen kyng, but the Emperours friend in *Barbaria* to whome *Dragat Rayes* had done great wrong. Yet men that knew the troth, and

are wont alſo to ſay it, haue told me that towne of *Affrica* ſtode ſo fit to annoy *Spayne* for the *Turke* when he liſt, that the Emperour was compelled to ſeeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, leſt when he was abſent in *Germany*, the *Turke* would be too nigh and too homely a geſt with hym in *Spayne* whenſoever the Peace ſhould be expired.

The whole ſtory of winnyng *Affrica* ye may read when you liſt beyng wel written in *Latin* by a *Spaniard* that was preſent at it.

Affrica was earneſtly required agayne by the *Turke*, and fayre promis'd agayne by the *Emperour*, but beying indeede not deliuered, the *Turke* for a reuenge the next yeare, firſt aſſaulted *Malta* and after wan *Tripoly* from whence the *Turke* may eaſely and ſoddenly whenſoeuer hee liſt ſet vpon *Cicelie*, *Naples*, or any coſt of *Italie* or *Spayne*, and moſt commodiouſly whatſoeuer the *Emperour* doth hold in *Barbary:* ſo that the gayne of *Affrica* is thought nothyng comparable with the loſſe of *Tripoly*.

When *Tripoly* was beſieged by the *Turkes*, *Monſieur Daramont* was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople* from the *French* kyng: and ariuyng by the way at *Malta*, he was deſired by the great maſter of the order to go to *Tripoly*, and for the Friendſhyp that was betwene *Fraunce* and the *Turke* to treat for the Chriſtians there. *Daramont* did ſo and had leaue of the *Turkes* generall to enter the Towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yielded, on this condition to part ſafe with bag and baggage which was granted by the Generall. But as ſoone as the *Turkes* entered the Towne they put old and young, man, woman, child to the ſword, ſauing two hundred of the ſtrongeſt men to be their Galley ſlaues for euer. The generall beyng aſked why he kept no promiſe made this anſwere. If the *Emperour* had kept faith with my maſter for *Affrica* I would not have broken with them of *Tripoly*, and therefore (ſayth he) with chriſten men which care for no trothe promiſes may iuſtly be broken. This *Turkiſh* crueltie was reuenged this laſt yeare in *Hungary*, when lyke promiſe of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the ſword, the Chriſtians biddyng the *Turkes* remember *Tripoly*. To ſuch beaſtly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come unto betwixt the Chriſten men and the *Turkes*. And one fact of either

ſide is notable to bee knowen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed: and it is pitie that mans nature is ſuch as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonlie follow ill thynges in doyng.

An horrible fact.

The *Baſſa* of *Buda* tooke in a ſkirmiſh a gentleman of the kyng of *Romanes:* for whoſe deliuery men for entreaty and money for his ranſome were ſent to *Buda*. The *Baſſa* appointed a day to giue them aunſwere, and at time and place aſſigned, called for them and ſent for the gentleman likewiſe. And ſoddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes bringing with them certain bandogges muſled kept hungry without meat of purpoſe: the *Baſſa* bad them do their feate: who commyng to the gentleman ſtripped him naked, and bound him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of his fleſh by gobbets and flang it to the dogges. Thus that poore gentleman ſuffred grief great for the payne, but greater for the ſpight: nor ſo tormented in feelyng his fleſhe mangled with kniues, as in ſeyng himſelf peece meale deuoured by dogges. And thus as long as he felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges loſe upon him to eat up the reſidue of him, that the grief which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes lookyng on. They were bad depart and tell what they ſaw, who ye may be ſure were in care enough to cary home with them ſuch a cruell meſſage.

Not long after this, three *Turkes* of good eſtimation and place, were taken by the chriſten men: for whoſe raunſome great ſummes of gold were offred. Anſwere was made to the meſſenger that all the gold in *Turky* ſhould not ſaue them. And becauſe ye *Turkes* will eat no ſwines fleſh, you ſhall ſee if ſwine will eat any *Turkiſh* fleſh. And ſo likewiſe great bores were kept hungry, and in ſight of the meſſenger, the three *Turkes* were cut in collops and throwne amongeſt them.

For theſe foule deedes I am not ſo angry with the *Turkes* that began them as I am ſory for the Chriſten men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experience and excellent learnyng, *Marc Anthonio d' Anula* Ambaſſadour of *Venice* with the Emperour: who told me that the great *Turke* him ſelf (Religion excepted)

The great Turke.

is

is a good and mercyfull, iuſt and liberall Prince, wiſe in makyng and true in performyng any couenant, and as ſore a reuenger of troth not kept. He prayed God to keep him long aliue: for his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha* is cleane contrary, geuen to all miſchief cruell, falſe, gettyng he careth not how vniuſtly, and ſpendyng he careth not how vnthriftely what ſoeuer he may lay hand on, wilye in makyng for his purpoſe, and ready to breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wery of quietnes and peace, a ſeeker of ſtrife and warre, a great mocker of meane men, a ſore oppreſſor of poore men, openly contemnyng God, and a bent enemy agaynſt Chriſtes name and Chriſten men. Muſtapha the Turkes eldeſt ſonne.

But to go forward with my purpoſe. The *Turke* beyng oneſt diſcloſed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men began to be the bolder to put out their heades to ſeeke ſome open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries: *Fraunce* beyng at euery mans elbow to harten and to help, whoſoeuer had cauſe to be aggrieued with the Emperour. And firſt *Octauio* Duke of *Parma*, much agreued as nature well required with his fathers death, and, beſides that, fearing the loſſe not onely of his ſtate, but alſo of his lyfe, fell from the Emperour in the end of the yeare 1550. Brech of Italy.

Pietro Aloyſio Farneſio ſonne to *Papa Paulo tercio* Duke of *Placentia:* father to this Duke *Octauio* Duke of *Parma* which maried the Emperours baſe daughter, and to *Horatio* Duke of *Caſtro* who of late had maried alſo the *French* kynges baſe daughter, and the two Cardinals *Alexandro* and *Ramuſio Farneſe*, was ſlaine men ſay by the meanes of *Ferrauto Gonzaga* gouernour of *Millan*, by whoſe death the ſtate of *Placentia* belonging then to the houſe of *Farneſia* came into the Emperours handes. The whole proceſſe of this mans death is at length ſet out in the ſtories of *Italie:* my purpoſe is onely to touch it, becauſe hereby roſe ſuch a heate betwixt the whole famely of *Farneſia* and Don *Ferrauto Gonzaga* as hath ſtirred vp ſuch a ſmoke in *Italy* betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce* as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans bloud, as *Horace* noteth wittely out of *Homer*, ſaying: Octauio.

> " What follies ſo euer great Princes make:
> " The people therefore go to wrake."

Octauio beyng foreſt greeued with his fathers death and beyng beſt able to reuenge it was ſo feared of *Gonzaga* that he thought hym ſelfe neuer aſſured for *Petro Luis* death as long as *Octauio* his ſonne ſhould lyue: for men neuer loue when they haue iuſt cauſe to feare, but muſt nedes ſtill miſtruſt without all hope of reconcilyng whom they haue before hurt beyond all remedy of amendes. And yet I heard a gentleman of *Millan* ſay (who was ſent hether to the Emperour by *Gonzaga)* that *Octauio* is ſuch a Prince for good nature and gentle behauiour that he ſuppoſed there was not one in *Italy* but did loue hym except it were his maiſter *Gonzaga.* Theſe two Princes beyng neighbours the one at *Millan* the other at *Parma* ſhewed ſmal frendſhyp the one to the other. But *Octauio* was euermore wrong to the worſe by many and ſundry ſpites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poyſoning: for the which fact certain perſons in *Parma* were taken and layd faſt. Neuertheles *Octauios* nature is ſo farre from ſeekyng bloud and reuenge and ſo geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to giue away his ſtate by treaſon, but alſo to take away his life by poyſonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and ſentence of death pronounced openly agaynſt them, yet he gaue them lyfe and liberty which would haue taken both from hym.

And when *Monſieur Thermes* earneſtly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Juſtice, the good ſhould neuer lyue in ſuretie and quietnes: his aunſwere was that he ſo abhorred the ſheddyng of Bloud in others as he would neuer waſh his handes in any: let his Enemies do to him the worſt they could. Addyng, that he thought it his moſt honor to be vnlykeſt ſuch for his gentlenes, which were miſliked of all men for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him whom no man in *Italy* for his cruelty doth loue. And this talk is ſo true that it was told in an other language but in the ſelf ſame termes at an honorable table here in *Bruxels* by a Gentleman of *Millan* an agent in the court, a doer for *Gonzaga,* who the ſame tyme was priſoner in *Parma.*

And although *Octauio* by good nature was harmeles in not ſeekyng reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reaſon in ſeekyng hys remedy but made oft and great complaintes of his grieues to the Emperour, which

which were not ſo hotely made, but they were as coldly heard; that at length *Octauio* findyng leaſt comfort, where of right he looked for moſt ayde, and ſeyng that diſpleaſures could not be ended in *Gonzaga* nor could not be amended by the Emperour: then he, compelled agaynſt his nature, turned his hate due to *Gonzaga* to reuenge this vndeſerued vnkyndnes in the Emperour, euen as *Pauſanias* dyd with *Phillip* kyng of *Macedonie*, who conqueryng with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was ſlayne when and where he thought him ſelf moſt ſure of his deareſt frend, for vnkyndnes, becauſe *Phillip* ought and would not reuenge *Pauſanias* on him that had done him a foule diſpleaſure.

Octauio ſeyng what was done to his father euen when hys graundfather was Byſhop of *Rome*, thought, that now as his houſe decayed, ſo his ieopardy encreaſed. And therefore agaynſt a deſperate euill began to ſeeke for a deſperate remedie, which was fet from *Rome*, a ſhop alwayes open to any miſchief as you ſhall perceiue in theſe few leaues if you marke them well.

Octauio complained to *Julio tercio* of the wronges of *Gonzaga* and of the vnkindnes of the Emperour, deſiryng that by his wiſedome and authoritie, he would now ſuccor him or els not onely he ſhould leeſe his life but alſo the Church of *Rome* ſhould loſe her right in *Parma*, as ſhe had done before in *Placentia*. The Byſhop gaue good eare to this talke, for he ſpied that hereby ſhould be offered vnto him, a fit occaſion to ſet the Emperour and *Fraunce* together by the eares. He thought the Emperour was to bigge in *Italy*, hauyng on the one ſide of *Rome*, *Naples* vnder his obedience, on the other ſide *Siene*, *Florence* and *Genoa* at his commaundement, beſides *Placentia*, *Millan*, *Monteferrato*, and a great part of *Piemount*.

The Emperour beyng thus ſtrong in *Italy*, the Byſhop thought his own ſtate to be his ſo long as it pleas'd the Emperour to let him haue it: and therefore if *Parma* were not left an entry for *Fraunce* to come into *Italy*, he might ouerſoone be ſhut vp in preſent miſerie when all outward ayde ſhould be ſhut out from him.

The Popes counſel was that *Octauio* ſhould put him ſelfe vnder the *French* kynges protection whom hee knew would moſt willingly receiue him;

him: *Parma* lying ſo fit for the *French* kyng, when ſoeuer he would ſet vpon the enterprice of *Millan*. This practice of the Pope *Monſieur de Thermes* the *French* kynges Ambaſſadours dyd vtter before the conſiſtorie of Cardinals at *Rome:* prouing that the Pope, not the kyng his maſter, was the occaſion of that Warre.

When *Octauio* with the whole houſe of *Farneſia* became thus *French*, the Emperour more fearyng the ſtate of *Millan* then lamentyng the loſſe of *Octauio* perſuaded on his ſide the Byſhop of *Rome* to require *Parma* as the Churches right, and to puniſh *Octauio* as the Churches rebell, promiſing that he himſelf as an obedient ſonne of the Church would ſtretch out his arme and open his purſe in that recouery of the Churches right: neuertheles the Byſhop muſt beare the name of the warre becauſe he might not breake peace with *Fraunce*. Thus Princes openly countenancing quietnes and priuily brewyng debate altho they got others to broch it, yet God commonly ſuffreth themſelues to drinke moſt of the miſery thereof in the end. The Byſhop ſeyng that he muſt either begyn the miſchief or elſe it would not on ſo faſt as he wiſhed to haue it, ſet luſtely vpon it: and firſt cited *Octauio*, after excommunicated him, and ſhortly after beſieged *Parma* ayded both with men and money by the Emperour: which thyng the *French* kyng began to ſtomach, thincking that the Emperour dyd offer him both wrong and diſhonor in not ſuffring him beyng a kyng to help a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus theſe two princes firſt helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out themſelues. And that the Pope dyd ſet theſe two Princes together, a *Paſquill* made at *Rome* and ſent to this Court doth well declare. And ſeyng that you ſo well vnderſtand the *Italian* toung and that if it were turned into *Engliſh* it would leeſe the whole grace thereof, I will recite it in the toung that it was made in.

Breach with Fraunce.

Interlocutori PASQUILLO et ROMANO.

Paſq. Hanno bel gioco il Re e l' Imperatore,
Per terzo il Papa, e giocano a Primiera.
Rom. Che v'è d'invito? *Paſq.* Italia tutta intera.
Rom. Chi ve l'ha meſſa? *Paſq.* Il coglion del paſtore.

Rom.

Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? *Paſq.* Punto maggiore :
Il Papa ha cinquant' vno e ſi diſpera.
Rom. Ceſar che Punto s'ha ? *Paſq.* Si ſta a Primera
Rom. Che gli manca ? *Paſq.* Danari a far favore
Il Papa dice a voi, e vuol partito:
Ceſar penſoſo ſta ſopra di queſto,
Teme a ſcoprir che di trovar non tenta.
Il Re dice, no, no, Scoprite preſto,
Che io tengo Punto, a guadagnar l'invito;
I'ho i danari, e Ceſar ſe gli aſpetta.

¶ Tutti ſtanno a vedetta.
Chi di lor dui guadagni. *Rom.* Il *Papa? Paſ.* E fuora
Vinca chi vuol, lui perda, in ſua malora.

¶ Lo Imperatore ancora
Teme, tien ſtretto, e ſcopre pian le carte,
E quì la ſorte gioca più che l'arte.

¶ Metta queſti in diſparte.
Stabilito è nel Ciel quello che eſſer dé,
Nè giova al noſtro dir, queſto ſarà, queſto è.

The *French* kyng in the ſommer, 1551, proclaimed warre againſt *Charles* kyng of *Spayne*, abuſing that name for a ſottlety to ſeparate the whole quarrell from the Empire: when the Emperour would not be perſuaded at *Auguſta* that either the *Turke* would, or the *French* kyng durſt make him open warre, or that any prince in *Italy* or *Germany* could be entiſed to break out with him.

Monſieur Mariliacke the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Auguſta* euen bare the Emperour in hand that ſuch rumors of war were rayſed of diſpleaſure, and that his maſter intended nothyng ſo much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durſt do, when many in the Emperours court knew that the warre was already proclaimed in *Fraunce*.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wiſedome, likyng onely what himſelfe liſted, and contemnyng eaſely

all aduiſe of others (which ſelfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme ſuffer him ſelfe thus to be abuſed: but alſo afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuaunce of warre at *Parma*, and more boldly by Duke *Maurice* for his repayre to *Inſpruke*, and not the leaſt of all, now lately at *Metz* by ſome of his owne counſellours for the recouery of that Towne. But Princes and great perſonages whiche will heare but what and whom they liſt, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they ſhould not: But it is weil done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduiſe of others; ſo God doth provide by right iudgement that they haue leaue in the ende to beare both the loſſe and ſhame therof them ſelues.

Thus ye ſee how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and alſo bringer of ill lucke to both theſe Princes, and as it came wel to paſſe dranke well of it him ſelfe both with expences of great treaſures, and with the loſſe of many lyues, and ſpecially of two noble Gentlemen, the Prince of *Macedonia* and *Il Seign. Giovan Baptiſta di Monte* his owne nephew: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, ſo that he might ſet the two Princes ſurely together. And therefore was not onely content (as a man might ſay) to haſard *Parma* on the meyne chaunce: but to make the two Princes better ſport and freſher game, ſet alſo euen then *Mirandula* on a bye chaunce that miſchief enough might come together.

Pope. When the Princes were well in, and the one ſo luſty with good lucke that hee had no luſt to leaue, and the other ſo chafed with leeſyng, that ſtill he would venture. Beſides their playing in ſporte for the Pope at *Parma* and *Mirandula*, they fell to it a good them ſelues in *Piemount*, *Loraigne*, *Flaunders* and *Picardy*, the *French* kyng robbyng by ſea and ſpoyling by land, with calling in the *Turke*, and ſturryng vp all Princes and ſtates that had any occaſion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wiſe ſenate of *Venize* would be lookers on.

Parma. Mirandula.

And when the Pope ſaw they were ſo hote at it as he well knew as the one would not ſtart in ſo great good lucke, ſo the other could not leaue by ſo much ſhame of loſſe. And although it did him good to ſee them

them ſo luſtely together; nevertheles he thought it ſcarce his ſurety that they ſhould play ſo neare his elbow ſo earneſtly, leaſt if they fell to farre out, and the one ſhould winne to much of the other, then he peraduenture would compell at length the Pope him ſelfe which began the play to kepe him ſport afterward for that that he had in *Italy*. And therefore very craftely he gat them to play in an other place, and tooke vp the game for *Parma* and *Mirandula*, taking truce with *Fraunce* for certain yeares, and bad them make what ſport they would farther of in *Loraigne* and *Picardy*. And that they ſhould lacke neither iniurie nor ſpite in the Popes doynges, when the Emperour ſaw that, whether hee would or no, the Pope would needes fall in with *Fraunce*, then he deſired the Pope that ſuch baſtilians and fortes of fence as were made about *Mirandula* when it was beſiged might either be deliuered to hys mens handes, or els defaced, that the Frenchmen might not haue them, which requeſt was very reaſonable, ſeyng the Emperour had been at all the charge in makyng of them: but they were neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferent, but ſo put into the French mens handes, that *Mirandula* now is made very ſtrong to the *French* faction by Emperours money and the Popes falſehode. The Popes practice.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope for the deede: but more ſpitefull for the tyme: even when Duke *Maurice* had wonne *Auguſta*, euen then the Pope gaue vp the ſiege of *Mirandula*, and fel in with *Fraunce*, that care enough might come vppon the Emperour together both out of *Germany*, and out of *Italy* at once. And even this day, 25th *June* 1553, when I was writyng this place, commeth newes to *Bruxells*, that the Pope hath of new played with the Emperour more foule play at *Siena*, then he dyd before at *Mirandula:* for when the Emperour had bene at paſſing charges in kepyng a great hoſt, for the recouery of *Siena*, from *December* laſt vnto *June:* the Pope would needes become ſtickler in that matter betwene the Emperour, the *French* Kyng and *Siena*, promiſing ſuch conditions to all, as neither of the Princes ſhould loſe honour, and yet *Siena* ſhould have had liberties. The Emperour, good man, yet agayne truſtyng him who ſo ſpightfully had deceiued hym before, diſmiſſed hys hoſte, which done *Siena* was left ſtill in the *Frenchmens* handes: who thereby haue ſuch oportunitie to fortifie it, as the Emperour is not like, by force, to recouer it. *Piramus*, Secretary to the Emperour, told this tale to Syr *Phillip Hobby* and

the Byſhop of *Weſtminſter* openly at the table: which *Piramus* is a Papiſt for his life. And beyng aſked how he could excuſe the Popes vnkyndnes agaynſt his maſter the Emperour? hee aunſwered ſmilyng, *Julius* tercius is a knaue, but the Pope is an honeſt man, which ſaying is common in this court. And although they will vnderſtand both the ſpight of the Pope and the ſhame of their maſter, yet are they content ſtil to ſpeake well of the Pope, though he neuertheles ſtil do ill to the Emperour. And thus to returne to my purpoſe how the Pope ſet the two Princes together, and ſhift his owne necke a while out of the halter, leauyng moſt vnfrendly the Emperour when he was fartheſt behynd hand: and how *Octauio* for feare of *Gonzaga*, and vnkyndnes of the Emperour, fell with all hys famely to be *French*, I haue briefly paſſed ouer for the haſte I haue to come to the matters of *Germany*.

¶ The PRINCE of SALERNE.

THE Emperour beyng thus ſet vpon by the *Turke* and *Fraunce* with open warre, and troubled by the houſe of *Ferneſia* with ſo ſoddeyne breaches, and moſt of all encombred with the feare of the ſturres in *Germany* which ſecretly were then in workyng: the Prince of *Salerne* alſo declared hym ſelfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this Court is much beloued for his gentlenes, and openly prayſed for his wiſedome, and greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done ſo good and faythfull ſeruice to the Emperour: that I haue heard ſome of this Court ſay, which loue the Emperour well, and ſerue him in good place, that their maſter hath done the Prince ſo much wrong, as he could do no leſſe than he dyd: who being ſo vniuſtly handled by his enemies, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and ſo vnkyndly dealt with all by hys maſter the Emperour, was driuen by neceſſitie to ſeek an vnlawfull ſhift.

The Viceroy *Don Pietro de Toledo*, vncle to the Duke of *Alua*, and father in law to the Duke of *Florence*, vſed him ſelfe with much cruelty ouer the people of *Naples*, by exactions of money without meaſure, by Inquiſition of mens doyngs without order, and not onely of mens doyngs, but alſo of mens outward lookyngs, and inward thinkyngs,

vſing

vſing the leaſt ſuſpicion for a ſufficient witnes to ſpoyle and to kill whom ſoeuer he lyſted. Men that had ſutes vnto him, had as leue bene away with the loſſe of their right, as haue come to his preſence to abyde his lokes and taunts: and (as I heard a wiſe gentleman of *Italy* ſay) he gaue audience in ſuch tyme and place, as he may eaſlyer in this Court ſpeake with *Monſieur d'Arras* then he could in *Naples* with the Viceroyes Porter. And commonly he would not heare them whileſt an hundred ſuters ſhould come at once, and then the porter let them in by one and by one euen as he favoured, not as the matter required, commandyng them to be ſhort, or els they ſhould come ſhort in, the next tyme. And ſo mens ſutes were pulled from common law to priuate will, and were heard not in places open to juſtice but in priuate parlors, ſhit vp to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therefore iudgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Viceroy liſted. This fault (*Cicero* ſayth) vndyd *Cæſar*, who drew the common law into his own houſe, and ſo in hauing other mens goods loſt all mens hartes, and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen thoſe that dyd help him pluck downe *Pompey*, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes. So we ſee that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great ſwing, but in keping of frendes and good lawes, lyue moſt merely, and raigne moſt ſurely: but ſuch as gape alwayes for other mens goods commonly neuer enioy the fruite of their owne: for they never ceaſe to win by wrong, till at length they leeſe by right goodes, lyfe and all. And therefore it is notable that *Dion* in *Plato* writeth to *Dionyſius* the Tyraunt, how *Euripides* in euery tragedy bringeth for ſome great vice one or other great Prince to ruine, and yet not one doth complaine thus:

Out out, alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.

But every one ſingeth this ſong:

Out out, alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes.

For a Prince that will take mens goods when he liſteth without order, ſhall want mens hartes when he needeth without pitie: but in hauyng their hartes he ſhall neuer lacke their goodes, as the good Kyng *Cyrus* ſayd to the rich Kyng *Cræſus*. And to haue the peoples hartes,

the next way is to be gentle to euery one, iuſt to all, and liberall to many, and eſpecially to ſuch as either by excellency of wit or good will in true ſeruice, do well deſerue it. Alſo to ſet his chief ioy not on priuate pleaſure, like *Sardanapalus*, but in common wealth, as we haue example of *Titus Veſpaſianus:* and to thinke his treaſure greateſt, not when his coffers be fulleſt, as *Crœſus* dyd, but when his ſubiectes be rich, as *Cyrus* dyd, and that through hys wiſedome and care, as all prayſe worthy Princes haue euer hitherto done. And what will the people render agayn to ſuch a Prince: a ſmall ſubſidy, with a great grudge? no, but their whole hartes to loue him, their whole goodes to ayde hym: their handes ready to defend hym whenſoeuer he ſhall haue neede. A Prince that thus doth lyue, and thus is loued at home, may be enuyed with much prayſe, and hated with ſmal hurte of any power abroad.

And therefore haue I heard wiſemen diſcommend the gouernement in *Fraunce*, in makyng theyr people almoſt ſlaues, and from thence a common ſaying of ſome in *England*, That would haue the people neither witty nor wealthy, when wit is the meare gift of God: ſo that to wiſh men leſſe wit that haue it, is to count God ſcarce wiſe that gave it. And wealth of the people, as Scripture ſayth, is the glory of a Prince and ſurety of hys raigne. But ſuſpition in all gouerning breedeth ſuch ſayinges, when wrong doth bear ſuch ſwynge as ill conſcience doth always wiſh that men ſhould lack either wit to perceaue or habilitie to amend what ſoeuer is done amiſſe. But God ſend ſuch *Achitophels* better end then their counſels doth deſerue, which would ſeme wiſe by other mens folly, and would be rich by other mens pouertie.

Syr John Gates wiſh.

To return to the Viceroy of *Naples*, the common opinion of thoſe in this Court which haue * priuate cauſe to ſay well on him, do ſpeake it boldly and openly, that he was ſuch a one as neuer could content his couetouſnes with money, nor neuer ſatisfie his crueltie with bloud: and ſo by this foul mean many gentlemen in *Naples* haue loſt ſome theyr lyues, but more theyr liuynges, and almoſt all theyr libertie. And there be at this day as men ſay here that know it, a good ſort

*. Perhaps it ſhould be read, *have* no *private cauſe*.

by

of thouſandes *Neapolitanes*, named *Foriensiuti*, who beyng ſpoyled at home by violence, robbed other abroad for neede, which comber ſo the paſſage betwixt *Rome* and *Naples*, as no man departeth commonly from *Rome* without company which cometh to *Naples* without robbyng.

The whole body of the kyngdome of *Naples* was ſo diſtempered inwardly with this miſorder, with a little outward occaſion it would eaſely have burſt forth into a foule ſore. A leſſe matter then the rauiſhyng of *Lucrece*, a meaner ayde then the help of *Brutus*, was thought ſufficient to have ſtirred up this inward grudge to open reuenge. But ſee how God prouided for the Emperour and the quyet of that kingdome: for God, in takyng away one *Spanyard*, hath made *Naples* now more ſtrong, then if the Emperour had ſet 20 thouſand of the beſt in *Spayn* there: for euen this laſt *Lent* 1553, *Don Pietro de Toledo* dyed at *Florence*, by whoſe goyng away mens hartes in *Naples* be ſo come agayne to the Emperour, as he ſhall now haue leſſe neede either to care for the fyne fetches of *Fraunce*, or to feare the great power of the *Turke*. A gentleman of this Court a true ſeruant to the Emperour, ſayd merely in a company where I was, that his maſter the Emperour had won more in *Naples* by the death of the Viceroy, then he had loſt in *Lorraigne* by the forgyng of *Metz*.

But to my purpoſe. Not many yeares agoe diuers in *Naples* made their complaint to the Prince of *Salerne* of their griefes, who was thought would be moſt willyng for his good nature, and beſt able for his authoritie, to ſeeke ſome remedie for them by way of interceſſion to the Emperour.

The Prince beyng here at *Bruxels*, humbly beſought hys Majeſtie to pitie the miſerie of hys poore ſubiectes: who by this ſute gat of the Emperour, for hys cliantes, wordes without hope: and of the Viceroy for him ſelfe hatred without ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym ſelfe ſo wiſely, that he could not without ſome ſturre be thruſt downe openly: and ridyng on his iourney, he was once ſhot with a dagge ſecretly.

Thus he ſeyng no ende of diſpleaſure in the Viceroy, no hope of remedy in the Emperour, when he ſaw the *Turke* on the ſea, the

French

French Kyng in the field, Duke *Maurice* and the Marches vp, and a good part of *Italy* either riſen or ready to riſe, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr moſt hope for helpe by the Princes, and of leaſt fear of puniſhment by the Emperour, came forth to play his part alſo amongeſt the reſt: who when flying firſt to the *French* Kyng, and after, by hys counſell as it is ſayd, to the *Turke*, is compelled to uenture vppon many hard fortunes. And what ſucces he ſhall haue either of helpe in *Fraunce* or comfort of the *Turke*, or mercy of the Emperour, I can not yet write. But this laſt winter he hath lyen in the Ile of Cio, and now I heare ſay this ſommer he is on the ſea with 63 gallyes of the *Turkes* at his commandement; what enterprice he will make, or what ſucceſſe he ſhall haue, when we ſhall heare of the matter, I truſt, I ſhall, either by ſome priuate letter from hence, or by preſent talk at home, fully ſatisfie you therein.

¶ ALBERT Marches of Bradenburge.

Marches Alberts booke and the contents thereof.

ALBERT Marches of *Bradenburge*, in the begynnyng of his ſturre 1552, wrote a booke and ſet it print, wherein he declared the cauſes of hys fallyng from the Emperour, wittely alledgyng common miſery as a iuſt pretence of hys priuate enterpriſe, makyng other mens hurtes his remedy to heale his own ſores, and common wronges hys way to reuenge priuate diſpleaſures: ſhewyng libertie to be loſt, and Religion to be defaced, in all *Germany*, lamentyng the long captiuitie of the two great Princes: and all the diſpoſſeſſyng of hys father in law Duke *Otto Henrick:* ſore enueying againſt the pride of the *Spanyardes*, and the authoritie of ſtraungers, which had now in their handes the ſeale of the Impire, and in their ſwynge the doyng of all thynges, and at their commaundement all ſuch mens voyces as were to be called the Imperiall Dietes: compellyng the *Germanes* in their owne countrey to vſe ſtraunge toungs for their priuate ſutes, wherein they could ſay nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpoſe: vſing *Camera Imperialis* at *Spires* for a common key to open all mens coffers when they liſted, and theſe were the chiefeſt points in Marches booke.

Sore and juſt complayntes.

The

The Marches alſo ſore enueyed agaynſt *Luice de Auila* for writyng, and agaynſt the Emperour for ſuffring ſuch a booke as *Luice de Auila* wrote: wherein the honor of *Germany* and the Princes therof, and by name Marches *Albert*, who was in the firſt warres on the Emperours ſide, was ſo defamed to all the world: yea the Marches was ſo throughly chafed with this booke, that when I was in the Emperours Court, he offred the combat with *Luice de Auila*, which the Emperour, for good wil and wiſe reſpectes, would in no caſe admit. The booke of Luice de Auila.

Not onely the Marches, but alſo the Princes at the Diet of *Paſſan* this laſt yeare, made a common complaint of this booke. I knew alſo the good old Prince *Fredericke Palſgraue* of the *Rhene*, in *September* laſt when the Emperour lay at *Landaw* beſide *Spires* roying with his great army to *Metz*, complayned to the Emperour h[illegible]n ſelfe, and to his counſell, of a certaine ſpightfull place in that booke againſt him: the good Prince told me this tale hym ſelfe at hys houſe in *Heldibirge*, when I caried vnto him Kyng *Edwardes* letters, the Lord Ambaſſadour hym ſelfe beyng ſicke at *Spires*.

And wiſe men ſay that the Duke of *Bauiere* alſo is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynſt hys father, when he deſerued of the Imperials to haue bene rewarded rather with prayſe and thankes then with any vnkynde note of blame and diſhonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynſt the *Lanſgraue* and the Duke of *Saxonie* receiued ſuch kyndnes, as no Prince in *Germany* for all reſpectes in that caſe was able to affourde hym: as firſt he had his whole countrey of *Bauiere* for a ſure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had alſo both men and vittaile of hym what he would, and at length ſhould have had that countrey hys onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele, as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods ſecret will and pleaſure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cauſe men ſay Duke *Albert* of *Bauiere* that now is, that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more ſtraunge this laſt yeare to the Emperour, when he was driuen to that extremitie to flye away on the night from *Inſpurge*, and was more familiar with The Duke of Bauiere vnkyndly handled.

with Duke *Maurice*, and more friendly to the Princes confederate then els peraduenture he would have done.

And here a writer may learne of Princes affaires a good leſſon, to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or ſpight: for although thereby a man may pleaſe his owne Prince preſently, yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as *Luis de Auila* dyd hurt the Emperour his maſter in writyng of this booke.

Indeede this booke was not the chiefeſt cauſe of this ſturre in *Germany*: but ſure I am that many Princes in *Germany* were ſore agreeued with it, as the Emperour wanted both theyr hartes and their handes when he ſtode in moſt nede of frendes.

Juſt reprehenſion of all vices as folie, vniuſt dealyng, cowardice, and vicious liuyng, muſt be frely and franckly vſed, yet ſo with that moderate diſcretſion as no purpoſed malice or bent hatred may ſeeme to be the breeder of any falſe reproch, which humor of writyng followeth ſo full in *Paulus Iouius* bookes, and that by that iudgement of his owne frendes, as I have heard wiſe and well learned men ſay: that his whole ſtudy and purpoſe is ſpent on theſe pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter *Fraunce*, to ſpite *England*, to belye *Germany*, to prayſe the *Turke*, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Chriſt and Chriſtes Religion, as much as lyeth in him. But to my purpoſe agayne.

The matters before of me briefly rehearſed, were at large declared in Marches *Albertes* booke: yet that you may know what ſecret workyng went before this playne writyng and open doyng, and becauſe the Marches part hath bene ſo notable in all this paſtime, I will, by more particular circumſtaunces, lead you to this generall complaintes.

There be at this day five Marcheſſes of *Bradenburge*: *Joachimus* Elector, *Johannes* his brother, who for ciuile ſeruice is Imperiall with night and mayne, and yet in Religion a Chriſtian Prince, with hart, toung, and honeſty of lyfe: Doctour *Chriſtopher Monte*, both a learned and wiſe man, our Kynges Maieſtie ſeruant, and his Agent in the

the affaires of *Germany*, hath told me diuers tymes that this Marches *John* and the Duke of *Swaburg* be two of the worthieſt Princes in all the Empire, either in conſidering wyſely, or executing courageouſly any affaire. The thyrd is Marches *George*, who dwelleth in *Franconia*, not farre from *Noremberg*. The fourth Marches *Albert* the elder, the mighty Duke of PRUSIA, hable, for his power, to cope with any Prince, and 15 yeares together he dyd ſtoutly withſtand, in continual warre, the ſtrength of the Kyng of *Pole*. He hath ſo fully baniſhed Papiſtry, and ſo ſurely eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the goſpell in PRUSIA, as no where hetherto in *Germany* is more diligently done; he loueth learnyng and honoreth learned men; and therefore, *an.* 1544, he founded a new Univerſitie in *Pruſia*, called *Mons Regius*, bryngyng thether, with plentyfull thynges, excellent learned men in all tounges and ſciences. He is vncle to this notable Marches *Albert*, and lackyng children hath made hym hys heyre, and hath already inueſtured hym in the dukedome of *Pruſia*. The fift is Marches *Albert*, of whom I purpoſe to write on: whoſe father was *Caſſimirus*, deſcended from the Kynges of *Pole*; and for his noblenes agaynſt the *Turke*, called *Achilles Germanicus*: and therefore might very well engender ſuch a hoate *Pirrhus*. Marches *Albert*, in hys young yeares, as I haue heard wiſe men ſay, was rude in hys maners, nor dyd not ſhew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any ſuch affayres as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of *Germany*) or els for his baſhfull nature in youth, which propertie *Xenophon* wittely fayned to be in *Cyrus* at lyke yeares, iudgyng baſhfulnes in youth to be a great token of uertue in age.

Duke of Pruſia.

Xenoph. a. κυρῳ.

Marches *Albert* is now at this day about 31 yeares old: of a good ſtature, neither very high nor very low, thicke without groſenes: rather wel boned for ſtrength, then ouerloded with fleſh: his face fayre, bewtiful, brode, ſterne, and manly: ſomewhat reſemblyng my Lord Marches of *Northt*, when he was of the ſame yeares; hys eyes great and rowlyng, makyng hys countenance chereful when he talketh: and yet when he geueth eare to other, he kepeth both a ſadde looke without ſigne of ſuſpicion, and alſo a well ſet eye without token of malice: and this behauiour I marked well in hym when I dyned in his company at the ſiege of *Metz*, in the County *John* of *Naſſaus* tent: hys

voyce is great, and hys wordes not many, more ready to here other than to talke hymſelfe. And when he talketh he ſo frameth hys toung to agree with hart, as ſpeakyng and meanyng ſeemeth to be alwayes at one in hym: and herein he may be well called the ſonne of *Achilles*, whom *Homer* wittely doth fayne to haue ſuch a free open nature: whoſe ſaying in *Greeke* is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong ſide into *Engliſh*, it ſhall leſſe delight you, yet thus much it ſignifieth:

> Who, either in earneſt or in ſport,
> Doth frame hymſelfe after ſuch ſort,
> This thyng to thinck, and that to tell,
> My hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage ſhould haue hys hart, hys looke, hys toung, and hys handes ſo alwayes agreeyng together, in thinkyng, pretendyng, and ſpeakyng, and doyng, as no one of theſe foure ſhould at any tyme be at iarre with an other; which agreeyng together in theyr right tune, do make a pleaſaunt melody in all mens eares both ſweeteſt and loudeſt, called in *Engliſh Honor*, and moſt fitly in *Greeke* Τιμὴ, the price and prayſe of vertue.

And though the Marches be free to ſay what he thinketh, yet he is both ſecret in purpoſyng and cloſe in workyng what ſo euer he goeth about. Now very ſkillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym ſelfe, yet firſt bet vnto it with his own rod: for in the former warres of *Germany*, beyng on the Emperours ſide, he fell into the handes of Duke *John Fredericke* of *Saxony*, which chaunce he is charged ſore withall by *Luice de Auila*, and that with ſo ſpightfull and open a mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the combat, as I ſayd before. He is now moſt courageous in hardeſt aduentures, moſt cherefull in preſent ieoperdy, and moſt paynefull in greateſt labours: hauyng no ſouldier vnder hym, that can better away with heate and cold, or longer ſuffer hunger and thirſt then he hym ſelfe. Hys apparell is ſouldier-lyke, better knowen by hys fearce doynges then by his gay goyng: his ſouldiours feare him for his ſtoutnes, and loue him for his liberalitie: which winneth to him authoritie

fit for a ſtout Captaine, and worketh in them obedience due to good ſouldiours.

This laſt yeare, a litle before hys agreement with the Emperour, hys ſouldiours, for lacke of money and meate, fell to mutinyng, and then fell the Marches faſteſt to hangyng, not hidyng hym ſelfe for feare, but comming abroad with courage, did proteſt that neither the proudeſt ſhould make miſorder without puniſhment, nor yet the pooreſt ſhould lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purſe or loafe of bread in hys tent. And after this ſort of outward behauiour and inward condition in Marches *Albert*, as I have marked his perſon my ſelfe, and as I have learned hys doynges by ſuch as by experience knew them well, and for their honeſty would report them right, and now how he fell from the Emperour, I wil as briefly declare.

The Marches ſerved the Emperour, as I ſaid before, in the former warres in *Germany*, agaynſt the *Lanſgraue* and the Duke of *Saxony*, where he loſt ſome honour, and ſpent much money. The Emperour ſhortly after came downe hether to *Bruxels*, hauyng the Marches in hys company, who lookyng for a great recompence of hys coſtes, and receiuyng litle, and ſeyng hys honor not onely defaced in the field preſently when he was taken priſoner, but alſo defamed for euer by writyng confirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow abroad in the world, began to take the matter ſo unkyndly, that he left commyng to the Court, and kept his owne houſe: riſing every day very early: and writyng all the forenoone very diligently, yet what he dyd no man knew: ſo that his abſence bred a talke in the Court, and his ſoddein and ſecret ſtudy wrought a wonderfull gelouſy of hys doynges in the Emperours head: for he knew the Marches to have courage enough to attempt matters ouer great; and therefore ſent Monſieur *Granduille* vnto the Marches houſe, as of hym ſelfe, to grope out hys doynges, who declared vnto the Marches the Emperours great goodwil towards hym, ſhewyng that his Maieſtie was purpoſed to make hym a great perſonage, and to begyn withal, had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all hys mintes.

The Marches aunſwered roundly and plainly to the firſt, that the Emperour could not make hym greater then he was, beyng Marches

of *Bradenburge:* and as for the office in the minte, he ſaid ſmilyng, he vſed not often to tell his owne money, and therefore he thought not to make the accompt of others; and ſo made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee deſired *Grandeuill* that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: and, at his departure, the Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000 crownes by the yeare: but the Marches was not well foure myles out of *Bruxels*, when he ſent the patent by poſt to the Emperour agayne, ſaying, his Maieſtie might better beſtow on ſome that had more neede of it. And indeede the Marches is as loth to receiue of hys frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take from hys enemies by violence, which commeth ſomewhat of to ſtout a courage.

Thus the Marches came home not beſt contented, as it may well appear: nor ſaw not the Emperour after, till he met hym at the ſiege of *Metz*. *Caſmirus*, his father, and the Marches hymſelfe were great ſpenders and deepe detters: the one for his ſtoutnes in warre, the other for hys luſtines in youth. And therefore became quicke borrowers and ſlow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into ſuch trouble as he had with the city of *Noremberge*, with his neighbours the Byſhop of *Herbipolis*, and with his godfather the Byſhop of *Pamberge*.

The Marches was no ſooner come home, but theſe byſhops, ſpying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours court, and had quite loſt or much leſſened hys frendſhip there, began to trouble hym with new ſuites for old debtes in *Camera Imperiali*, at *Spires*, where the Marches, becauſe he lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeares, or good matter on his ſide, was alwayes wrong to the worſt; and to ſtuffe vp his ſtomach with more matter of vnkyndnes againſt the Emperour, it is ſayd, that letters from the greates in the Emperours Court were neuer lackyng at *Spires*, to helpe forward proceſſe agaynſt the Marches.

Shortly after this tyme began the ſiege of *Madenburg*, where Duke *Maurice*, by the Emperour, was appointed generall. The Marches, either weery of leeſyng at home by ſutes, or deſirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purpoſing to practiſe ſome way to reuenge his diſpleaſures, made him ready to ſerue againſt *Madenburg* with 500 horſe.

And

And in the begynnyng of the Spryng of the yeare 1551, he ſet forward, and in his way went to viſite *Erneſtus*, his couſin, Duke of *Saxony*, brother to *John Fridericke*, then priſoner with the Emperour. The ſelfe ſome tyme *Lazarus Swendy* was ſent from the Emperour as Commiſſary to Duke *Erneſtus*, with earneſt commandement that the Duke, and all his, ſhould receive the doctrine of the *Interim*. And (that I may accompliſh my purpoſe, which is to paynt out as truely as I can, by writyng, the very image of ſuch perſons as have played any notable part in theſe affaires: and ſo you, beyng abſent, ſhall with ſome more pleaſure read their doynges) this *Lazarus Swendy* is a tall and a comely perſonage, and beyng brought vp in learnyng vnder *Oecolampadius* at *Baſile*, makyng (as it was told me by an honeſt man that was throughly acquainted with hym there) more account of his tall ſtature then of any bewty of the mynde, began to be wery of learnyng, and became deſirous to beare ſome bragge in the world: and ſo made a ſouldiour, mard a ſcholer, and becauſe he would make a luſty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Chriſts doctrine, he fell to be a peruerſe and bloudy Papiſt: euer at hand in any cruel execution agaynſt the poore Proteſtantes, as commonly all ſuch do which ſo wittyngly ſhake of Chriſt, and hys goſpell. Such a commiſſary, you may be ſure, would cruelly enough execute his office. Duke *Erneſtus* told the Commiſſary, that he, hys landes and lyfe, were at his Maieſties commaundement; hys Maieſty knew how quietly he bare hym ſelfe alwayes, and therefore hys truſt was, as he willyngly ſerued the Emperour with true obedience, ſo he might as freely ſerue God with right conſcience: for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with hys wyfe and children, then they would forſake the way of the Goſpell, which God hath commaunded them to follow.

Lazarus Swendy.

And marke how euidently God dyd declare both how much ſuch a commiſſion ſent out abroad in *Germany* agaynſt hym and hys worde dyd diſpleaſe hym: and alſo how much the prayers and ſighyng hartes of iuſt men do in tyme preuayle with him: for as a man of much honeſty and great knowledge in all the matters of *Germany* dyd tell me, aſſoone as this commiſſion was once abroad, the practyſes in *Germany* began to ſtyrre, yet not ſo openly as the Emperour might have iuſt cauſe to withſtand them, nor ſo covertly, but he had occaſion enough

enough to miſtruſt them: and thereby he both lacked help for open remedy, and wanted no diſpleaſure for inward griefe.

Duke *Erneſtus*, Marches *Albert*, and *Lazarus Swendy* ſat at ſupper togethers: and as they were talkyng of the *Interim*, the Marches ſoddenly braſt out into a fury, ſaying: "What deuill, will the Emperour neuer leaue ſtriuyng with God in defacyng true religion, and toſſyng the world, in debarryng all mens liberties: addyng, that he was a Prince vnkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no man, that could forget all mens merites, and would deceiue whomſoeuer he promiſed."

The Duke lyked not this hoate talke in hys houſe and at hys table, but ſayd: "Coſin, you ſpeake but merely, and not as you thincke," addyng much in the prayſe of the Emperours gentlenes ſhewed to many, and of hys promiſe kept with all. "Well, (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men had deſerued, or would haue performed that he promiſed: neither ſhould I at this tyme accuſe hym, nor you haue ſit here in this place to defend hym, for he promiſed to geue me this houſe, with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd, Coſin, (quoth the Marches) leſt this talke be to loud, and ſo heard to farre of: when indeede, if the Commiſſarie here be ſo honeſt a man as I take hym, and ſo true to hys maſter as he ſhould be, he will not fayle to ſay what he hath heard; and on the ſame condition, Commiſſary, I bryng the goode lucke:" and drancke of vnto hym a great glaſſe of wine. *Lazarus Swendyes* talke then ſounded gently and quietly, for he was ſore affrayed of the Marches. But he was no ſoner at home with the Emperour, but word was ſent to Duke *Maurice*, that the Marches, who was as then come to *Madenburg*, if he would needes ſerue there, ſhould ſerue without wages.

Ye may be ſure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes, who already had loſt a great ſort of hys men, and now muſt leeſe hys whole labour thether, and all hys wages there, beſides the loſſe of hys honor in takyng ſuch ſhame of hys enemies, and receiuyng ſuch vnkyndnes of the Emperour.

The

The Marches was not ſo grieued, but Duke *Maurice* was as well contented with this commaundement: for euen then was Duke *Maurice* ſecretary practiſyng, by Baron *Hadeckes* aduiſe, with the *French* Kyng for the ſturre which dyd follow: and therefore was gladde when he ſaw the Marches might be made hys ſo eaſely, whiche came uery ſoone to paſſe: ſo that the Marches, for the ſame purpoſe, in the ende of the ſame yeare, went into *Fraunce* ſecretly, and was there with *Shertly* as a common Launce Knight, and named hymſelfe Captaine *Paul*, leſt the Emperours ſpials ſhould get out hys doynges: where, by the aduiſe of *Shertly*, he practiſed with the *French* Kyng for the warres which followed after. This matter was told vnto me by *John Mecardus*, one of the chief preachers in *Auguſta*, who beyng baniſhed the Empire, when and how ye ſhall heare after, was fayne to flye, and was with *Shertly* the ſame yeare in *Fraunce*.

The Marches came out of *Fraunce* in the begynnyng of the yeare 1552, and out of hand gathered vp men, but hys purpoſe was not knowne, yet the Emperour miſtruſted the matter, beyng at *Inſpurg*, ſent *Doct. Haſius*, one of hys counſell, to know what cauſe he had to make ſuch ſturre. This *Doct. Haſius* was once an earneſt Proteſtant, and wrote a booke on that ſide, and was one of the *Palſgraue* priuy counſell: but, for hope to clime higher, he was very ready to be entiſed by the Emperour to forſake firſt his maſter and then God: by whom the Emperour knew much of all the Princes Proteſtants purpoſes, for he was commonly one whom they had vſed in all their dietes and priuate practiſes: which thyng cauſed the Emperour to ſeeke to haue hym: that, by hys heade he might the eaſelyer ouerthrow the Proteſtantes, and with them, God and hys word in all *Germany*.

This man is very lyke *M. Parrie*, her graces cofferer, in head, face, legges, and bellye. What aunſwere *Haſius* had I cannot tell, but ſure I am the Marches then both wrote hys booke of complayntes agaynſt the Emperour, and ſet it out in printe. And alſo came forward with banner diſplayed, and tooke *Dillyng* vpon *Danuby*, the Cardinall of *Auguſtus* towne, which Cardinal, with a few Prieſtes, fled in poſt to the Emperour at *Inſpurg*, where he found ſo cold cheare, and ſo litle comfort, that forthwith in all haſte, he poſted to *Rome*.

Horſemen

Horſemen and footemen in great companies ſtill gathered to the Marches: and in the ende of *March* he marched forward to *Auguſta*, where the Duke *Maurice*, the young *Lanſgraue*, the Duke of *Mechelburg*, *George* and *Albert*, with *William* Duke of *Brunſwycke*, and other Princes confederate, met together, and beſieged that citie, where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke *Maurice* and hys doynges to the ſame tyme, and to the ſame place.

¶ DUKE MAURICE.

NOT many yeares agoe, whole *Saxony* was chiefly under two Princes: the one Duke *John Fredericke*, borne Elector, who yet liueth, defender of *Luther*, a noble ſetter out, and as true a follower of Chriſt and hys Goſpell: the other hys kynſman, Duke *George*, who is dead, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, a great man of the Emperour, a mayntainer of *Cocleus*, and a notable piller of Papiſtry.

John Fredericke Duke of Saxony.

Duke *John Fredericke* is now 50 yeares of age, ſo byg of perſonage as a very ſtrong horſe is ſcarce able to beare hym, and yet is he a great deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wiſedome, iuſtice, liberalitie, ſtoutnes, temperancy in hym ſelfe, and humanitie towardes others, in all affaires, and either fortunes vſing a ſingular trouth and ſtedfaſtnes: ſo that *Luice de Auila*, and the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who wrote the ſtory of the firſt warres in *Germany*, and profeſſe to be his erneſt enemies both for matters of ſtate and alſo of religion, were ſo compelled by hys worthynes to ſay the trouth, as though theyr onely purpoſe had bene to wryte hys prayſe. He was fiue yeares priſoner in this Court, where he wan ſuch loue of all men, as the *Spanyardes* now ſay: They would as gladly fight to ſet hym vp agayne, as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: for they ſee that he is wiſe in all his doynges, iuſt in all his dealynges, lowly to the meaneſt, princely with the biggeſt, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no aduerſitie could euer moue, nor policy at any tyme entice, to ſhrincke from God and hys word. And here I muſt needes commend the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who beyng a Papiſt,

Papiſt, and writyng the hiſtory of the late warres in *Germany*, doth not kepe backe a goodly teſtimony of Duke *Frederickes* conſtancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke priſoner, he came ſhortly after before the citie of *Witemberg:* and beyng aduiſed by ſome bloudy counſellours that Duke *Frederickes* death ſhould, by the terrour of it, turne all the Proteſtantes from theyr religion, cauſed a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next mornyng vppon a ſolemne ſcaffold, in the ſight of his wyfe, children, and the whole citie of *Witemberg*.

This write, ſigned with the Emperours own hand, was ſent ouer night to the Duke, who, when the write came vnto hym, was in hys tent playing at cheſſe with his coſin and fellow priſoner the *Lanſgraue* of *Lithenberg*, and readyng it aduiſedly ouer, layd it downe quietly beſide, and made no countenance at all at the matter, but ſayd, " Coſin, " take good heede to your game," and returnyng to his play as quietly as though he had receiued ſome priuate letter of no great importance, dyd geue the *Lanſgraue* a trim mate.

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued by God; ſecondly of his great wiſedome and naturall clemency, when he vnderſtode his merueilous conſtancie, chaunged his purpoſe, and reuoked the write; and euer after gaue him more honor, and ſhewed him more humanitie then any Prince that euer I haue read of haue hetherto done to his priſoner.

He is alſo ſuch a louer of learnyng as his librarie, furniſhed with bookes of all tounges and ſciences, paſſeth all other libraries which are yet gathered in Chriſtendome: for my friend *Jeronimus Wolfius*, who tranſlated *Demoſthenes* out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, who had ſene the *French* kynges librarie at *Auguſta*, hath told me, that though in ſix monethes he was not able onely to write out the titles of the bookes in the *Fuggers* librarie, yet was it not ſo byg as Duke *Frederickes* was which he ſaw in *Saxony*. I thinke he vnderſtandeth no ſtraunge toung ſaue the *Latine* and a litle the *French:* and yet it is merueilous that

my frend *Johannes Sturmius* doth report by writyng, what he heard *Phillip Melancthon* at a tyme ſay of thys noble Duke: that he thought the Duke dyd priuately read and write more euery day then dyd both he and *D. Aurifaber*, which two were counted in all mens iudgment to be the greateſt readers and writers in all the vniuerſitie of *Wittemberg*.

And as he doth thus read with ſuch diligence, euen ſo he can report with ſuch a memory whatſoeuer he doth read, and namely hiſtories, as at his table on euery new occaſion he is accuſtomed to recite ſome new ſtory, which he doth with ſuch pleaſure and vtterance, as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet he him ſelfe is not diſdaynfull to heare the meaneſt, nor will ouertwhart any mans reaſon. He talketh without tauntyng, and is mery without ſcoffyng, deludyng no man for ſport, nor nippyng no man for ſpight.

Two kyndes of men, as his preachers dyd tell me at *Vilacho*, he will neuer long ſuffer to be in his houſe: the one a common mocker, who for his pride thincketh ſo wel of his owne wit as his moſt delight is to make other men fooles, and where God of his Prouidence hath geuen ſmall wit, he for his ſport wil make it none, and rather than he ſhould leeſe his pleaſure, he would an other ſhould leeſe his wit: as I heare ſay was once done in *England*, and that by the ſufferaunce of ſuch as I am ſorry, for the good wil I beare them, to heare ſuch a report: the other a priuy whiſperer, a pickthancke, a tale-teller, medlyng ſo with other mens matters, as he findeth no leyſure to looke to his owne: one ſuch in a great houſe is able to turne and toſſe the quietnes of all. Such two kynde of men, ſayeth the Duke, beſides the preſent troublyng of others, neuer or ſeldome come to good end them ſelues. He loueth not alſo bold and thicke ſkinned faces, wherein the meanyng of the harte doth neuer appeare. Nor ſuch hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. But would, that wordes ſhould be ſo framed with the toung, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

A noble nature.

And therefore the Duke him ſelfe thincketh nothyng whiche he dare not ſpeak, nor ſpeaketh nothyng whiche he will not do. Yet hauyng

yng thoughtes grounded vppon wiſedome, his talke is alwayes ſo accompanyed with diſcretion, and his deedes ſo attended vppon true dealyng, as he neither biteth with wordes, nor wringeth with deedes, except impudency follow the fault, which *Xenophon* wittely calleth the furtheſt point in al doyng, and then he vſeth to ſpeake home, as he dyd to a *Spanyard* this laſt yeare at *Villacho*, who beyng of the Dukes garde, when he was priſoner, and now preaſyng to ſit at his table when he was at libertie, becauſe many nobles of the Court came that day to dine with the Duke, the gentleman huſher gently deſired the *Spanyard* to ſpare his rowme for that day for a great perſonage: but he, countenancyng a braue *Spaniſh* bragge, ſayd, " *Seignor*, ye know me well " enough," and ſo ſat him downe.

The Duke heard him, and preuentyng hys mans aunſwere, ſayd: " In deede you be too well knowen, by the ſame token the laſt tyme " you were here you tooke a gobblet away with you, and therefore " when you have dyned you may go without farewell, and haue leaue " to come agayne when ye be ſent for. In the meane while an honeſt " man may occupy your place." But in remembryng ſo good a Prince I haue gone too farre from my matter: and yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whoſe worthynes is neuer to be forgotten.

Duke *George* of *Saxony*, a litle before he dyed, hauyng no child, dyd diſinherite Duke *Henry* his brother by his laſt wil, becauſe he was a Proteſtant, and gaue away his whole inheritaunce to *Ferdinando* Kyng of *Romaines*.

But Duke *John Fredericke*, by force of armes, ſet and kept his coſin Duke *Henry* in his right: and he dying ſoone after left behynd hym two ſonnes, Duke *Maurice* and Duke *Auguſtus*, who likewiſe in theyr youth were defended in theyr right by the wiſedome and force of Duke *John Fredericke*. Duke *Maurice* was brought vp in Duke *John Frederickes* houſe, as if he had bene his owne ſonne, and maryed the *Lanſgraues* daughter.

After it came to paſſe that the Emperour attempted to eſtabliſh Papiſtry in *Germany* with the ſword, agaynſt which purpoſe the *Lanſgraue*

and Duke *John Fredericke* armed themſelues, not to reſiſt the Emperour, as the Papiſtes ſay, but to kepe Gods religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refuſing neuer, but requiryng alwayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free general councill, where truth and religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and * equal iudges, and that by the touchſtone of Gods Canonicall Scriptures.

Duke *Maurice* in the begynnyng of his warres was ſuſpected neither of the *Lanſgraue* nor of Duke *Fredericke*, beyng ſonne in law to the one and nigh kynſman to the other, and agreeyng in Religion with both. Yea, he was not onely not ſuſpected; but as I heard ſkilful men ſay, he was ready with his counſell, and promiſed his ayde to helpe forward the enterprice, or elſe *Hance Fredericke*, being a Prince of ſuch wiſedome, would not haue left at home behind him an enemie of ſuch a force.

Franciſco, Duke *Maurice* Agent with the Emperour, was aſked, I beyng by at *Auguſta*, how he could excuſe his maſters vnkyndnes towards *John Fredericke* who had bene ſuch a father vnto him. He graunted that Duke *Fredericke* had bene great frend vnto him, and might haue bene a greater if he had would, and then leſſe ſtrife had followed then did. "And troth it is (ſayd he) as Duke *Fredericke* kept "my maſter in his right, ſo afterward he put hym from part of his right, "when in his young yeares he chopped and chaunged landes with him "when he liſted: which thing my maſter complaynyng, could neuer ob- "tayne remedy therein. Kyndnes ſhould rather haue kyndly encreaſed, "then ſo unkyndly haue decayed, ſpecially when the one was truſted "with all, and the other of ſuch yeares, as he had neither wit to perceiue "nor power to amend if any iniury were offred vnto hym. Troth alſo "it is that my maſter was brought vp in Duke *Frederickes* houſe: but "he hath more cauſe to complain on them that brought hym thether, "then to thanke ſuch as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes "plentie of drinke, and as much ſcant of good teachyng to come to ſuch "vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a Prince of his ſtate."

* Ἐν ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις, wordes alwayes uſed in *Thucidides* in decidyng common controverſies.

Now,

Now, whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuſe was made to couer a foule fact, I cannot tell: but ſure I am *Franciſco* ſayd thus. I haue heard wiſe men ſay, that it is not lyke, that for ſuch a priuate ſtryfe Duke *Maurice* would have ſo forſaken not only his frend and kinſman, but alſo his father in law, or would for the loſſe of a litle, or rather for the chaunge of a peece, haue ſo haſſarded his whole eſtate, which was once in the firſt warre all gone ſaue *Lypſia*, and one other towne, beſide the loſſe of loue in whole *Germany*, and his good name amongeſt all Proteſtantes, in the middeſt of whom all his liuyngs do lye.

Why Duke *Maurice* left hys deareſt frendes and fell in with the Emperour.

Well ſurely there was ſome great cauſe that could ſturre vp ſo great a ſtryfe, and that was, as wyſe men and wel willyng on Duke *Maurice* ſide, in mine opinion, haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition.

Ambition.

O Lord! how many worthy men hath this one vice beareft from good common weales, which for all other reſpectes were moſt vnworthy of that end they came vnto. My hart weepes for thoſe noble men of *England*, whoſe valiantnes in warre, whoſe wiſedome in peace, this realme ſhal want and wayle, and wiſh for in tyme to come, which of late, by this onely vice, haue bene taken from vs. Examples leſſe for our grief, and as fit for this purpoſe, be plenty enough in other ſtates.

Ouer many experiences do teach vs, though a Prince be wiſe, ſtout, liberall, gentle, mercyfull, and excellently learned; though he deſerue all the prayſe, that vertue, nature, and fortune can affourd him, yea, that wit it ſelfe can wiſh for, as we read that noble *Julius Cæſar* had, and that by the teſtimony of thoſe that loued him not, neuertheles if the two foule verſes of Euripides,

> Do right alway, and wrong refraine,
> Except onely for rule and raigne.

If theſe verſes, I ſay, do not onely ſound well in his eare, but ſincke deepe alſo in his hart, ſurely there is neither kindred, frendſhip, law, othe,

othe, obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne lyfe, but he will haſſard to leeſe all rather then to purſue this foule vice: for *Polynices*, for whom this verſe was firſt made in *Greeke*, dyd fill not onely his owne countrey full of dead carcaſſes, but alſo whole *Greece* full of weepyng widdowes. And *Cæſar*, for whom the ſame verſe was turned into *Latine*, dyd not onely turn vpſide down the goodlieſt common wealth that euer God ſuffred to ſtand vppon the earth: but alſo toſſed the whole world with battayle and ſlaughter, euen almoſt from the ſunne ſettyng vnto the ſunne riſyng. And dyd not ſtop to bryng ſouldiours to do miſchief further then any man now dare iourney by land either for pleaſure or profite.

But ſee the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bryngeth men vnto: both theſe Princes were ſlaine, the one by his brother, the other by his own ſonne, of whom in lyfe, nature and benefites would they ſhould have taken moſt comfort of. But men that loue to clime to hye haue alwayes leaſt feare, and therefore by reaſon fall moſt ſuddenly, and alſo fardeſt downe: yea, the very bowghes that helped hym vp will now whip him in fallyng downe: for who ſo in climyng truſteth when he is goyng vp any bough at all ouer much, though he ſeeme to tread neuer ſo ſurely vppon it, yet if he once begyn to ſlyp, the ſame ſelfe bough is reddieſt to beat him that ſeemed before ſureſt to beare him. Examples hereof be ſeene dayly and forgotten hereby.

An other miſchief chaunceth commonly to theſe high climers: that they will heare no man ſo gladly as ſuch which are euer hartenyng them to clime ſtill. If wiſe and good men durſt ſpeake more freely then they do: great men ſhould do both others and themſelues leſſe harme then they are wont to do. He hateth him ſelfe, and haſteth his owne hurt, that is content to heare none ſo gladly as either a foole or a flatterer. A wonderfull follie in a great man himſelfe, and ſome piece of miſerie in a whole common wealth, where fooles chiefly and flatterers may ſpeake freely what they will, and wiſe men and good men ſhal commonly be ſhent, if they ſpeake what they ſhould.

And how commeth this to paſſe: it is the very plague of God for great mens ſinnes, and the plaine high way to their iuſt puniſhment.

And

And when God ſuffreth them ſo willingly to graunt freedom to folli and ſo gladly to geue hearyng to flattery: but ſee when the great man is gone and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be ſtil vpo the ſtage. Such liue in all worldes, ſuch laugh in all miſeries: ſuch *Dani* and *Getæ* haue alwayes the longeſt parties: and go out who ſhal, they tary in place ſtill. I know alſo many a good *Mitio*, which haue played long partes, whom I pray God kepe long ſtill vpon the ſtage. And I truſt no man will be miſcontent with my generall ſaying, except conſcience do pricke him of his owne priuate ill doyng.

There be common wealthes where freedome in ſpeakyng truth hath kept great men from boldnes in doing ill: for free and frendly aduiſe is the trimmeſt glaſſe that any great man can vſe to ſpye his owne fault in: which taken away, they runne commonly ſo farre in foule doyng, as ſome neuer ſtay till they paſſe all remedy, ſaue onely to late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flattery but wiſh for freedome: ſo in no wiſe do I commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kynd of rayling. But that libertie in ſpeakyng ſhould be ſo mingled with good will and diſcretion, as no great perſon ſhould be vnhonourably ſpoken vppon, or any mean man touched out of order either for ſport or ſpite: as ſome vnquiet heades, neuer contented with any ſtate, are euer procuryng either ſecretly with raylyng billes, or openly with tauntyng ſonges, or els ſome ſcoffing common play.

An other kynd of to bold talkers ſurpaſſe all theſe; ſelly rumors, who are called, and ſo will be, common diſcourſers of all Princes affaires. Theſe make a great account of themſelues, and will be commonly formoſt in any preaſe, and luſtly without bluſhing ſhoulder backe others: theſe will needes ſeeme to ſee further in any ſecret affayre then the beſt and wiſeſt counſellor a Prince hath. Theſe be the open flatterers and priuy miſlikers of all good counſellors doynges. And one common note, the moſt part of this brotherhode of diſcourſers commonly cary with them where they be bold to ſpeake: to like better *Tullies Offices* then *St. Paules Epiſtles:* and a tale in *Bocace*, then a ſtory of the Bible, and therefore for any Religion earneſt ſetters forth of preſent tyme: with conſciences confirmed with *Machiauelles* doctrine to thincke, ſay, and do what ſoeuer may ſerue beſt for profite or pleaſure.

But as concernyng flatterers and raylers to ſay mine opinion whether I lyke worſe, ſurely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter poyſons: ſo haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with ſharpe talke, but are ſo ware therein, that commonly they wil complayne of theyr hurt before they feele harme. And flattery agayne is ſo ſweete, that it pleaſeth beſt when it hurteth moſt, and therefore is alwayes to be feared, becauſe it alwayes delighteth. But in lookyng aſide to theſe hye climers, I haue gone out of the way of mine owne matter.

To return to Duke *Maurice*, he ſaw that Duke *Frederickes* fallyng might be his riſyng, and perchaunce was moued with ſome old iniuries, but beyng of young yeares, and of nature full of deſire and courage, he was a trimme pray for old practiſers to be eaſily caryed away with fayre new promiſes, foundyng altogether to honor and profite, and ſo he forſoke his father and his frend, and became wholy the Emperours till he had brought both them into priſon. Duke *Fredericke* was taken in the field, and ſo became the Emperours iuſt priſoner. Yet as long as the *Lanſgraue* was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpoſe neuer atchieued, and therefore practiſed a new with Duke *Maurice* to get him alſo into his handes.

Duke *Maurice* with *Joachim* Elector of *Bradenburge* became meanes betwixt the *Lanſgraue* and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other, were drawen out. *Maurice* and the Marches bound them ſelues ſureties to the *Lanſgraues* children, for theyr fathers ſafe returne: for amongeſt the reſt of conditions this was one of the chiefeſt, that he ſhould come in no priſon. And ſo at *Hala* in *Saxony*, he came boldly to the Emperours preſence, who receiued him not very cherefully, nor gaue him not his hande, which in *Germany* is the very token of an aſſured reconciliation.

The Duke of *Alua* made the *Lanſgraue* a ſupper, and called alſo thether Duke *Maurice*, and the Marches of *Bradenburge*, where they had great chere: but after ſupper it was told Duke *Maurice* and the Marches that they might depart, for the *Lanſgraue* muſt lodge there that night.

On

On the morrow, they reaſoned of the matter wholly to this purpoſe, that the Emperour promiſed the *Lanſgraues* perſon ought not to be kept. Aunſwere was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him, which were that he ſhould not be kept in euerlaſtyng priſon. When I was at *Villacho* in *Carinthia* I aſked Duke *Frederickes* Preacher what were the very wordes in *Dutch*, whereby the *Lanſgraue* agaynſt his lookyng was kept in priſon. He ſayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable, and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherein the very controverſie ſtode. Duke *Maurice* ſayd it was,

Nicht in einig gefengknes. i. Not in any priſon. The Imperials ſayd no, but thus;

Nicht in ewig gefengknes. i. Not in euerlaſtyng priſon. And how ſoon *einig* may be turned into *ewig*, not with ſcrape of knife, but with the leaſt daſh of a pen, ſo that it ſhall neuer be perceiued, a man that will proue may eaſely ſee.

Moreouer, *Luice d'Auila* in his booke doth reioyce that the *Lanſgraue* dyd ſo deceaue hym ſelfe with his owne conditions, in makyng of which, as *D'Auila* ſayth, he was wont to eſteeme his owne wit aboue all other mens. Well, how ſo euer it came to paſſe the *Lanſgraue* was kept in priſon. And from that hour Duke *Maurice* fell from the Emperour, thinckyng hym ſelfe moſt vnkyndly handled, that he, by whoſe meanes chiefly the Emperour had won ſuch honor in *Saxony*, muſt now be rewarded with ſhame in all *Germany*, and be called a traytor to God, and his countrey, his father, and his frend. And though he was greeued at hart, yet he bare all thynges quietly in countenance, purpoſing though he had loſt will yet would he not leeſe his profite, and ſo hidyng his hurt preſently, whileſt ſome fitter tyme ſhould diſcouer ſome better remedy, he went with the Emperour to *Auguſta*, where, accordyng to his promiſe, he was made Elector. Yet the ſame night after his ſolemne creation, two verſes ſet vppon his gate might more greue hym, than all that honor could delight hym, which were theſe.

Seu Dux, ſeu Princeps, ſeu tu dicaris Electior.
Maurici es Patriæ proditor ipſe tuæ.

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his countrey: from whence afterward the Emperour with no policie could euer bryng him, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare he had of ſome ſturre by Duke *Frederickes* children.

Hitherto the *Germaines* much miſlyked the doynges of Duke *Maurice*. But after that he had felt him ſelfe ſo vnkyndly abuſed as for his good ſeruice to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke ſuch matters in hand, and brought them ſo to paſſe, as he recouered the loue of his countrey, and purchaſed ſuch hate of his enemies, as the *Spanyardes* tooke theyr diſpleaſure from all other, and beſtowed wholly vppon the Duke *Maurice:* and yet he bare him ſelfe with ſuch wit and courage agaynſt them, as they had alwayes cauſe to feare hym, and neuer occaſion to contemne hym: yea, if he had liued, he would ſooner men thincke haue driuen all *Spanyardes* out of *Germany*, then they ſhould haue hurt hym in *Saxony*, for he had ioyned vnto hym ſuch ſtrength, and there was in hym ſuch pollicie, as they durſt neuer haue come vppon hym with power, nor neuer ſhould haue gone beyond hym with wit. He had ſo diſpleaſed the Emperour, as he knew wel neither his landes nor his lyfe could make amendes, when 10 poundes of benefites which he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of diſpleaſure that he had already done: and therefore neuer after ſought to ſeeke his loue which he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue hym ſelfe wholy to ſet vp *Maximilian*, who beyng hym ſelfe of great power, and of all other moſt beloued for his worthynes in all *Germany*, and now vſyng the head and hand of Duke *Maurice* and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the *Spanyardes*, that is to ſay, almoſt all Proteſtantes and Papiſtes to in *Germany*, he ſhould eaſely haue obtained what ſoeuer he had gone about. But that bonde is now broken: for euen this day when I was writyng this place, came word to this Court, that Marches *Albert* and Duke *Maurice* had fought, where the Marches had loſt the field, and Duke *Maurice* had loſt his lyfe: which whole battail, becauſe it is notable, I would here at length deſcrybe,

ſcrybe, but that I ſhould wander to farre from my purpoſed matter: and therefore I in another place, or els ſome other with better opportunitie, ſhall at large report the matter.

Ye ſee the cauſe why and the time when Duke *Maurice* fell from the Emperour. And becauſe he was ſo notable a Prince, I will deſcribe alſo the maner how he proceeded in all theſe doynges, as I learned amongeſt them that did not greatly loue him. And becauſe it were ſmall gayne to flatter hym that is gone, and great ſhame to lye vppon hym that is dead, for pleaſyng any that be alyue, I ſo will report on hym as his doynges ſince my commyng to this Court haue deſerued.

He was now of the age of 32 yeares, well faced, in countenance, complection, fauour and beard not much vnlyke to Syr *Raffe Sadler*, but ſome deale higher, and well and ſtrong made to beare any labour and payne. He was once (men ſay) geuen to drinkyng, but now he had cleane left it, contented with ſmall diet and litle ſleepe in this laſt yeares, and therefore had a wakyng and workyng head: and became ſo witty and ſecret, ſo hardy and ware, ſo ſkillfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from hym ſelfe, as he neuer tooke enterpriſe in hand wherein he put not his aduerſary alwayes to the worſe. And to let other matter of *Germany* paſſe, euen this laſt yeare, within the compaſſe of eight monethes, he profeſſed hym ſelfe open enemy agaynſt foure the greateſt powers that I know vppon earth; the *Turke*, the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, and the *French* kyng, and obtained his purpoſe, and wan prayſe agaynſt them all foure: for he in perſon, and pollicie, and courage, diſpatched the *Turkes* purpoſe and power this laſt yeare in *Hungary*. The Councell of *Trent*, which the Pope and the Emperour went ſo about to eſtabliſh, he onely brought to none effect: firſt by open proteſtation agaynſt that councell, and after by commyng with his army to *Inſburge*, he brought ſuch feare to the Biſhops there gathered, that they ran euery one farre away from thence, with ſuch ſpeed as they neuer durſt hetherto ſpeake of meeting there agayne. And how he dealt with the Emperour, both in forcyng him to flye from *Inſburge*, and compellyng him to ſuch a peace at *Paſſo*, my whole *Diarium* ſhall at full inſtruct you. The Pope. The Emperour.

French kyng.

And of all other he ſerued the *French* kyng beſt, who fayre pretendyng the deliuery of the two Princes captiues, and the maintenaunce of Religion and libertie in *Germany*, purpoſed in very deede nothyng els, but the deſtruction of the Emperour, and the houſe of *Auſtria*: for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none hymſelfe priuately in his lyfe, but alſo perſecuteth the trouth in others openly with the ſword. But I do hym wrong to ſay he followeth none, who could for his purpoſe be content at one time to embrace all: and for to do hurt enough to the Emperor would become at once by ſolemne league, Proteſtant, Papiſh, Turkiſh, and deuilliſh. But ſuch Princes that cary nothyng els but the name of bearyng vp Gods word, deſerue the ſame prayſe and the ſame end that that Prince dyd, who ſemed ſo ready to beare vp the Arke of the Lord, and yet otherwiſe purſued Gods true Prophetes and his word.

Agayne, how much the *French* kyng cared for the libertie of *Germany* he well declared in ſtealyng away ſo vnhonorably from the Empire the City of Metz. But he thinckyng to abuſe Duke *Maurice* for his ambitious purpoſe, in very deede and in the end Duke *Maurice* vſed him as he ſhould: for firſt he made hym pay well for the whole warres in *Germany*, as it is ſaid, 200000 crownes a moneth: and after when the *French* kyng fell to catchyng of Cities, Duke *Maurice* tendryng the ſtate of his countrey, brake of with hym, and began to parle with the good kyng of *Romanes* at *Luiz*, which thyng heard when the *French* kyng came within two myles of the *Rhene*, he ſtraight way hyed more haſtly, and with more diſorder, for all his great haſte, out of *Germany*, as they ſay that were there, then the Emperour beyng ſicke without company, and preſſed by his enemy, dyd go from *Inſburge*.

And ſee how noble Duke *Maurice* dyd, which for the loue of his countrey, durſt fall from the *French* kyng before he atchieued any thyng agaynſt the Emperour. And rather then *Germany* ſhould leeſe her cities ſo by the *French* kyng, he had leuer haſſard, both the leeſyng of his enterprice, and alſo the leauyng of his father in law ſtill in priſon with the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money plenty of the *French* kyng, ſo had he wit alſo to furniſh hym ſelfe ſo from home as he durſt firſt fall out with the *French* kyng, and durſt alſo after to ſet vppon the

the Emperour, till he had brought his honeſt purpoſe to paſſe. For there is not almoſt any in this Court but they will ſay Duke *Maurice* did honeſtly in deliueryng his father by ſtrong hand, which before left no fayre meane vnproued to do that humbly by intreaty, which after, he was compelled to bryng to paſſe ſtoutly by force. And I pray you marke well what he dyd, and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

Duke Maurice offer for the Lanſgrave deliuery.

For firſt he hym ſelfe with the Marches of *Bradenburge* moſt humbly by priuate ſute laboured for the *Lanſgraues* deliuery, offryng to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refuſed: as a huge ſumme of money: a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, ſome to be defaced, ſome geuen to the Emperour: and alſo perſonall pledges of great houſes, for his good haberaunce all the reſidue of his lyfe.

After when this ſute was not regarded, they againe procured all the Princes and ſtates of *Germany*, beyng at the Diet at *Auguſta*, *an.* 1548. to be humble interceſſors for hym, offryng the ſelfe ſame conditions rehearſed before, addyng this more, to become ſureties themſelues in any bande to his Maieſtie for his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirdly by the Prince of *Spayne* Duke *Maurice* neuer left to entreat the Emperour, yea, he was ſo careful of the matter, that his Ambaſſadors followed the Prince euen to his ſhippyng at *Genoa:* who had ſpoken often preſently before, and wrote earneſtly from thence to his father for the *Lanſgraues* deliuery, and it would not be. And wyſe men may ſay it was not the wyſeſt deede that euer the Emperour dyd, to deny the Prince this ſute: for if the Prince had bene made the deliuerer of the two Princes out of captiuity, he had won thereby ſuch fauour in all *Germany*, as without all doubt he had bene made coadiutor with the K. of *Romaines* his vncle, and afterward the Emperour. Which thyng was luſtly denyed to the Emperor by the Electors, though he laboured in the matter ſo ſore as he neuer dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this laſt yeare, a little before the open warres, Duke *Maurice* procured once agayne, not onely all the Princes and free eſtates of *Germany*, but alſo the kyng of *Romaines*, *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian* his ſonne

Kyng

Kyng of *Boeme*, the Kyng of *Pole*, the Kyng of *Denmarke*, the Kyng of *Sweeden*, to ſend alſo theyr Ambaſſadours for this ſuite, ſo that at once 24 Ambaſſadours came before the Emperour together at *Inſburge*. To whom when the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect conteinyng a double meanyng aunſwere, and that was this: "That it dyd "him good to ſee ſo noble an Ambaſſage at once. And therefore ſo "many Princes ſhould well vnderſtand that he would make a good "accompt of their ſute. Neuertheles becauſe Duke *Maurice* was the "chiefeſt partie herein, he would with ſpeede ſend for him, and vſe his "head for the better endyng of this matter." But Duke *Maurice* ſeyng that all theſe Ambaſſadours went home without him, and the matter was referred to his preſent talke, who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wyſely met with this double meanyng aunſwere of the Emperours with a double meanyng *replica* agayne, for he promiſed the Emperour to come; and at laſt in deede came ſo haſtly, and ſo hotely, as the Emperour could not abyde the heat of his breath: for when Duke *Maurice* ſaw that all humble ſutes, all quiet meanes were ſpent in vayne, and had to beare hym iuſt witnes therin all the Princes of *Germany*: firſt with cloſe pollicie, after open power both wittely and ſtoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by ſuite: for the Emperour was glad to condeſcend (which ſurely in an extreme aduerſitie was done like a wiſe Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, without receiuyng of pledges, to ſend the *Lanſgraue* home honorably accompanied with (at the Emperours charges) the nobilitie of *Brabant* and *Flaunders*.

This laſt day I dyned with the Ambaſſadour of *Venice* in companie of many wyſe heades, where Duke *Maurice* was greatly prayſed of ſome for his wit: of others for the execution of his purpoſes. "Well, ſayth "a luſty *Italian* Prieſt, I cannot much prayſe his wit, which might "haue had the Emperour in his handes and would not." Loe ſuch be theſe *Machiauels* heades, who thincke no man haue ſo much wit as he ſhould, except he do more miſchief then he neede. But Duke *Maurice* purpoſyng to do no harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng the one purſued not the other. Yea I know it to be moſt true when we fled from *Inſburge* ſo haſtly, Duke *Maurice* ſent a poſt to the good Kyng of *Romanes*, and bad hym will the Emperour to make

no

no ſuch ſpeede, for he purpoſed not to hurt his perſon, but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at *Paſſo* immediatly folowed.

I commend rather the iudgement of *John Baptiſt Gaſcaldo*, the Emperours man and the Kyng of *Romanes* generall in *Hungary*, who is not wont to ſay better, or loue any man more than he ſhould, ſpecially *Germaines*, and namely Proteſtantes. And yet this laſt winter he wrote to the Emperour that he had marked Duke *Maurice* well in all his doynges agaynſt the *Turke*, and of all men that euer he had ſene, he had a head to foreeaſt the beſt with pollicie and wit, and a hart to ſet vppon it with courage and ſpeed, and alſo a diſcreſſion to ſtay moſt wiſely vppon the very pricke of aduantage. John Baptiſt Gaſcaldo.

Marches *Marignan* told ſome in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke *Maurice* ſhould become the greateſt enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had: whiche thing he iudged (I belieue) not of any troubleſome nature which he ſaw in Duke *Maurice*, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke *Maurice*, knowing that he had both wit to perceiue them quietly, and alſo a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this Court that loued not Duke *Maurice*, and hauyng no hurt to do hym by power, went about to ſay hym ſome for ſpight, and therefore wrote theſe two ſpightfull verſes agaynſt hym.

* *Jugurtham Mauricus prodit Mauricus vltra,*
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæſare, Gallum.

He that gaue me this verſe added thereunto this his iudgement, "Well "(ſayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke "*Henry* of *Brunſwicke*, his nigh kinſman Duke *Fredericke*, his father "in law the *Lanſgraue*, his ſoueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confe- "derate the *French* Kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendſhyp, nature, "law, obedience, and othe, ſhall beſides all theſe deceaue all men, if "at length he do not deceaue hym ſelfe." This verſe and this ſentence, the one made of ſpight, the other ſpoken of diſpleaſure, be here com-

* The former diſtich was in the old edition corrupt, and ſtill remains barbarous in the proſody: the ſame defect will remain in this, though it be reformed as I believe it was written, thus, *Jugurtham Maurus prodit, Mauricius ultra.*

mended

Duke Maurice.

mended as men be affectioned. For my part as I can not accuſe hym for all, ſo will I not excuſe hym for part. And yet ſince I came to this Court I ſhould do hym wrong if I dyd not confeſs that which as wiſe heades as be in this Court haue iudged on hym, euen thoſe that for countrey and Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue ſhewed hym ſelfe in all theſe affayres betwixt the Emperour and hym: firſt, humble in intreatyng, diligent in purſuyng, witty in purpoſing, ſecret in workyng, fearce to force by open warre, ready to parley for common peace, wyſe in choyſe of conditions, and iuſt in performyng of couenaunts.

And I know he offended the Emperour beyond all remedy of amendes: ſo would I be loth to ſee as I haue once ſene, his Maieſtie fall ſo agayne into any enemyes handes: leſt peraduenture leſſe gentlenes would be found in hym then was found in Duke *Maurice*, who when he was moſt able to hurt, was moſt ready to hold his hand, and that agaynſt ſuch an enemie, as he knew well would neuer loue him, and ſhould alwayes be of moſt power to reuenge. If Duke *Maurice* had had a *Machiauels* head or a cowardes hart, he would haue worne a bloudyer ſword then he dyd, which he neuer drew out in all theſe ſturres, but once at the *Cluce*, and that was to ſaue the Emperours men.

Hitherto I haue followed the order of perſons, whiche hath cauſed me ſomewhat to miſorder both tyme and matter, yet where diuers great affayres come together, a man ſhall wryte confuſedly for the matter, and vnpleaſantly for the reader, if he vſe not ſuch an apt kynde of partition as the matter will beſt affourde, "Whiche thyng (*Plato* ſayth) "who can not do, knoweth not how to write." Herein *Herodotus* deſerueth in myne opinion a great deale more prayſe then *Thucidides*, although he wrote of a matter more confuſed for places, tyme and perſons, then the other dyd.

In this point alſo *Appianus Alexandrinus* is very commendable, and not by chaunce but by ſkil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue iuſt cauſes why he ſhould do ſo. Our wryters in late tyme, both in *Latin* and other tounges, commonly confound to many matters together, and ſo wryte well of no one. But ſee, Maſter *Aſtley*, I thinckyng to be in ſome preſent talke with you, after our old wont, do ſeeme to forget both my ſelfe and my purpoſe.

For the reſt that is behind I will vſe a groſe and homely kind of talke with you: for I will now, as it were, cary you out of *England* with me, and will lead you the ſame way that I went, euen to the Emperours Court, beyng at *Auguſta*, *an.* 1550. And I will let you ſee in what caſe it ſtode, and what thynges were in doyng when we came firſt thether. After, I will cary you, and that apace, becauſe the chiefeſt matters be throughly touched in this my former booke, through the greateſt affaires of two yeares in this Court. Yea, in order till we haue brought Duke *Maurice* (as I promiſed you) to ioyne with Marches *Albert* in beſiegyng *Auguſta*. And then, becauſe priuy practiſes braſt out into open ſturres, I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And ſo we will depart with the Emperour from *Inſburge*, and ſee dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court, till hys Maieſtie left the ſiege of *Metz*, and came downe hether to *Bruxels*: where then all thynges were ſhut vp into ſecret practiſes, till, laſt of all, they brake forth into new miſchiefes, betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce* in *Picardy*, and alſo betwixt Duke *Maurice* and the Marches in hyghe *Germany*; which thynges, I truſt, ſome other ſhall marke and deſcribe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

TOXOPHILUS,

The SCHOLE, or PARTITIONS, of SHOOTING.

Contayned in II Bookes.

Written by ROGER ASCHAM. 1544.

And now newlye peruſed.

Pleaſaunt for all Gentlemen and Yomen of ENGLANDE. For theyr paſtime to reade, and profitable for theyr uſe to folowe both in warre and peace.

Anno 1571.

Imprinted at LONDON, in FLETESTREATE, neare to SAINT DUNSTONES Churche, by THOMAS MARSHE.

In Partitiones Sagittarias ROGERI ASCHAMI, GUALTERUS HADDONUS *Cantabrigienſis* * Regius.

MITTERE qui celeres ſumma velit arte Sagittas,
Ars erit ex iſto ſumma profecta libro.
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, nervique rotundi,
Sumere ſi libet, hoc ſumere fonte licet.
ASCHAMUS eſt author, magnum quem fecit APOLLO,
Arte ſua, magnum PALLAS & arte ſua.
Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum
Quæ videt ars, uſus viſa parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima ſcripta:
Convenit hæc nobis optima velle ſequi.

* Of King's College. Haddon was famous for his Latin ſtile, of which he has here given no ſhining ſpecimen; but the firſt rude eſſays of authours compared with the works of their maturer years, are uſeful to ſhew how much is in the power of diligence.

To all the Gentlemen and Yomen of ENGLANDE.

BIAS the wyſe man came to *Creſus* the riche Kinge, on a time, when he was makinge newe ſhippes, purpoſinge to have ſubdued by water the out iſles lying betwixte *Grece* and *Aſia Minor*. "What newes "nowe in *Grece?*" ſayth the Kinge to *Bias*. "None other newes but theſe," ſayth *Bias:* "that the iſles of *Grece* have prepared a wonderful com- "pany of horſemen to over-run *Lydia* withal." "There is nothing under "heaven, ſayth the Kinge, that I would ſo ſoone wiſh, as that they durſt "be ſo bolde, to meete us on the land with horſe." "And thinke you," ſayth *Bias*, "that there is any thinge which they would ſooner wiſhe, "then that you ſhould be ſo fonde, to meete them on the water with "ſhippes?" And ſo *Creſus*, hearing not the true newes, but perceyving the wyſe mannes minde and counſell, both gave then over makinge of his ſhippes, and left alſo behinde him a wonderful example for al common wealthes to followe: that is, evermore to regarde and ſet moſt by that thinge wherunto nature hath made them moſt apt, and uſe hath made them moſt fitte.

By this matter I meane the ſhooting in the longe bow, for *Engliſhemen:* which thinge, with al my hart I do wiſhe, and if I were of * authority, I would counſell all the gentlemen and yomen of *Englande*, not to chaunge it with any other thinge, howe good ſoever it ſeeme to be, but that ſtil, according to the olde wont of *Englande*, youth ſhould uſe it for the moſt honeſt paſtime in peace, that men might handle it as a moſt ſure weapon in warre. Other † ſtronge weapons, which both experience doth prove to be good, and the wiſedome of the Kinges Majeſty and his counſel provides to be had, are not ordayned to take

* *Authority* is here uſed not for *Power*, but for *Credit* or *Influence*.

† Fire-arms began about this time to be made, for the hand ordnance or great guns ſeem to have been near a century employed in war before hand-guns were much uſed.

awaye ſhooting: but that both, not compared together, whether ſhould be better than the other, but ſo joyned together, that the one ſhould be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, might ſo ſtrengthen the realme on all ſides, that no kinde of enemye, in any kinde of weapon, might paſſe and go beyonde us.

For this purpoſe I, partlye provoked by the counſell of ſome gentlemen, partlye moved by the love which I have alwayes borne toward ſhootinge, have written this litle treatiſe; wherein, if I have not ſatisfyed any man, I truſt he will the rather be content with my doinge, becauſe I am (I ſuppoſe) the firſt, which hath ſaid any thinge in this matter, (and fewe beginninges be perfect, ſayth wyſe men:) and alſo becauſe, if I have ſaide amiſſe, I am content that any man amende it, or, if I have ſaid to litle, any man that will to adde what him pleaſeth to it.

My minde is, in profiting and pleaſing every man, to hurt or diſpleaſe no man, intending none other purpoſe, but that youth might be ſtirred to labour, honeſt paſtime, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, unthrifty games, and vice: which thinge I have laboured onlye in this booke, ſhewinge howe fit ſhootinge is for all kindes of men; howe honeſt a paſtime for the minde; howe holſome an exerciſe for the bodye; not vile for great men to uſe, not coſtly for poore men to ſuſtayne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at their pleaſure to miſuſe it, but abydinge in the open fighte and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wyſedome to correct it.

And here I would deſire al gentlemen and yomen to uſe this paſtime in ſuch a meane, that the outragiouſneſs of great gaminge ſhould not hurt the honeſtye of ſhootinge, which, of his owne nature, is alwayes joyned with honeſtye: yet for mennes faultes oftentimes blamed unworthelye, as all good thinges have bene, and evermore ſhal be.

If any man would blame me, eyther for takinge ſuch a matter in hande, or els for wrytinge it in the *Engliſhe* tongue, this aunſwere I may make him, that when the beſt of the realme thincke it honeſt for them to uſe, I, one of the meaneſt ſorte, ought not to ſuppoſe it vile for me to wryte: and thoughe to have written it in another tongue, had

bene

bene both more profitable for my ſtudy, and alſo more * honeſt for my name, yet I can thinke my laboure well beſtowed, if with a little hindrance of my profite and name, may come any furtherance to the pleaſure or commodity of the gentlemen and yomen of *Englande*, for whoſe ſake I toke this matter in hand. And as for the *Latine* or *Greeke* tongue, everye thinge is ſo excellentlye done in them, that none can do better: In the *Engliſhe* tongue, contrary, everye thinge in a maner ſo meanlye both for the matter and handelinge, that no man can do worſe. For therein the leaſt learned, for the moſt part, have bene alwayes moſt readye to write. And they which had leaſt hope in *Latine*, have bene moſt bould in *Engliſhe*: when ſurelye everye man that is moſt readye to talke, is not moſt able to write. He that will write well in any tongue, muſt follow this counſel of *Ariſtotle*, to ſpeake as the comon people do, to thinke as wyſe men do: as ſo ſhoulde everye man underſtand him, and the judgement of wyſe men alowe him. Manye *Engliſhe* writers have not done ſo, but uſinge ſtraunge wordes, as *Latine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man which reaſoned the *Engliſhe* tongue to be enriched and encreaſed thereby, ſayinge: "Who will not "prayſe that feaſt where a man ſhall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale "and beere?" "Truly (quoth I) they be al good, every one taken by himſelfe alone, but if you put malveſye and ſacke, redde wyne and white, "ale and beere, and al in one pot, you ſhall make a drincke not eaſye "to be knowen, nor yet holſome for the bodye." *Cicero*, in folowing *Iſocrates*, *Plato* and *Demoſthenes*, encreaſed the *Latine* tongue after another ſort. This way, becauſe divers men that wryte, do not know, they can neyther folow it, becauſe of theyr ignoraunce, nor yet will prayſe it for over arrogancye, two faultes, ſeldome the one out of the others companye. *Engliſhe* writers, by diverſity of time, have taken dyvers matters in hand. In our fathers time no thinge was read but bookes of fayned chevalrie, wherin a man by readinge ſhoulde be led to none other ende, but onely to manſlaughter and baudrye. If anye man ſuppoſe they were good enough to paſſe the time with all, he is deceived. For ſurely vaine wordes do worke no ſmall thinge in vaine, ignorant, and young mindes, eſpecially if they be geven any thinge thereunto of their owne nature. Theſe bookes (as I have heard ſay) were made the moſt part in abbayes, and monaſteries, a very likely and fit fruite of ſuch an ydle and blind kind of lyving. In our tyme now,

* *Honeſt* is here uſed for *honourable*.

when every man is geven to know, much rather than to live wel, very many do write, but after ſuch a faſhion as very many do ſhoote. Some ſhooters take in hande ſtronger bowes, than they be able to * maintaine. This thinge maketh them ſome time to over ſhoote the marke, ſome time to ſhoote far wyde, and perchaunce hurt ſome that looke on. Other that never learned to ſhoote, nor yet knoweth good ſhaft nor bow, wil be as buſy as the beſt, but ſuche one commonlye † plucketh down a ſide, and crafty archers which be againſt him, will be both glad of him, and alſo ever redye to lay and bet with him: It were better for ſuch one to ſit down than ſhote. Other there be, which have very good bow and ſhafts, and good knowledge in ſhootinge, but they have been brought up in ſuch evill favoured ſhootinge, that they can neither ſhoote ‡ fayre nor yet nere. If any man will applye theſe thinges together, ſhal not ſe the one far differ from the other. And I alſo, amonges all other, in wryting this litle treatiſe, have folowed ſome yong ſhooters, which both wil begin to ſhote, for a litle money, and alſo wil uſe to ſhoote ones or twiſe about the marke for nought, afore they begin a good. And therefore dyd I take this litle matter in hand, to aſſay myſelfe, and hereafter, by the grace of God, if iudgement of wyſe men, that loke on, thinke that I can do anye good, I may perchance caſt my ſhaft among other, for better game. Yet in writing this booke, ſome man wil marveile perchance, why that I beyng an unperfect ſhooter, ſhould take in hand to write of makyng a perfect archer: the ſame man, peradventure, wil marveile howe a whetſtone, whiche is blunt, can make the edge of a knife ſharpe: I would the ſame man ſhould conſider alſo, that in going about any matter, there be four things to be conſidered, doing, ſaying, thincking, and perfectneſs: Firſt, there is no man that doth ſo well, but he can ſay better, ‖ or els ſome men, whiche be now ſtarke nought, ſhould be too good: Again, no man can utter with his tongue, ſo wel as he is able to imagine with his minde, and yet perfectnes itſelfe is far above al thinkinge. Then, ſeyng that ſaying is one ſtep nerer perfectnes than doing, let every man leave marveyling why my worde ſhal rather expreſſe, than my dede ſhall perfourme, perfect ſhootinge.

* To *maintain* is to *manage*.

† *To pluck down aſide*, I believe, is to ſhoot on one ſide into the ground.

‡ Neither ſhoot gracefully nor exactly.

‖ This paſſage is ſomewhat confuſed. The meaning is, that if from what men ſay we could infer what they do, we might think many to be good, whom we hear talking well, whom yet we know to be bad, becauſe they live ill.

I truſt no man will be offended with this litle booke, excepte it be ſome fletchers and bowyers, thinkinge hereby that many that love ſhootinge ſhall be taught to refuſe ſuch noughtye wares as they woulde utter. Honeſt* fletchers and bowyers do not ſo, and they that be unhoneſt, ought rather to amende themſelves for doing ill, than be angrye with me for ſaying well. A fletcher hath even as good a quarell to be angrye with an archer that refuſeth an ill ſhaft, as a blade-ſmith hath to a fletcher that forſaketh to bye of him a noughtye knyfe; for as an archer muſt be content that a fletcher knowe a good ſhafte in every pointe for the perfecter makyng of it; ſo an honeſt fletcher will alſo be content that a ſhooter know a good ſhafte in everye pointe, for the perfecter uſinge of it; becauſe the one knoweth like a fletcher howe to make it, the other knoweth like an archer how to uſe it. And ſeinge the knowledge is one in them both, yet the ende divers; ſurely that fletcher is an enemy to archers and artillery, which cannot be content that an archer knowe a ſhafte, as well for his uſe in ſhootinge, as he himſelfe ſhould knowe a ſhafte, for his advantage in ſellinge. And the rather, becauſe ſhaftes be not made ſo much to be ſold, but chiefly to be uſed. And ſeinge that uſe and ocupyinge is the ende why a ſhafte is made, the makyng, as it were, a meane for ocupyinge, ſurelye the knowledge in every point of a good ſhafte, is more to be required in a ſhooter than a fletcher.

Yet, as I ſayde before, no honeſt fletcher will be angrye with me, ſeing I do not teache howe to make a ſhafte, which belongeth onlye to a good fletcher, but to knowe and handle a ſhafte, which belongeth to an archer. And this litle booke, I truſt, ſhall pleaſe and profit both parties: for good bowes and ſhaftes ſhall be better knowen to the commodity of all ſhooters, and good ſhootinge may, perchaunce, be more occupyed to the profit of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I praye God that all fletchers, getting their lyving truly, and all archers, uſinge ſhootinge honeſtlye, and all manner of men that favour artillerye, maye live continuallye in healthe and merineſſe, obeying theyr Prince as they ſhoulde, and loving God as they oughte: to whome, for all thinges, be all honour and glorye for ever. *Amen.*

ROGER ASCHAM.

* *Fletcher* is an arrow-maker. This vindication of the book againſt the fletchers is trifling and ſuperfluous.

TOXOPHILUS.

A

The First Booke of the SCHOLE of SHOOTINGE.

PHILOLOGUS. TOXOPHILUS.

PHILOLOGUS. YOU ſtudye to ſore, *Toxophilus.* TOX. I will not hurt myſelfe over much, I warrant you. PHI. Take heede you do not, for we phyſitions ſaye, that it is neyther good for the eyes in ſo cleare a ſunne, nor yet holeſome for the body, ſo ſoone after meate, to looke upon a mans booke. TOX. In eatinge and ſtudyinge I will never folowe any phyſicke, for if I did, I am ſure I ſhould have ſmall pleaſure in the one, and leſſe courage in the other. But what news drave you hither, I pray you? PHI. Small news, trulye, but that as I came on walkinge, I fortuned to come with three or four that went to ſhoote at the prickes: and when I ſawe not you amonges them, but at the laſt eſpyed you lookinge on your booke here ſo * ſadlye, I thought to come and hold you with ſome communication, leſt your booke ſhoulde run away with you. For methought by your waveringe pace, and earneſt lookinge, your booke ledde you, not you it. TOX. Indeede, as it chaunced, my minde went faſter then my feete, for I happened here to reade in *Phedro Platonis*, a place that entreates wonderfullye of the nature of ſoules, which place, whethir it were for the paſſinge eloquence of *Plato*, and the *Greeke* tongue; or for the highe and godlye deſcription of the matter, kepte my minde ſo occupyed, that it had no leiſure to looke to my feete. For I was readynge how ſome ſoules, beinge well feathered, flew alwayes about heaven and heavenly matters, other ſome havinge their feathers mouted

* So *ſeriouſly*.

away and droupinge, ſancke downe into earthlye thinges. PHI. I remember the place very well, and it is wonderfullye ſayd of *Plato*, and now I ſee it was no marveile thoughe your feete ſayled you, ſeinge your minde flewe ſo faſte. TOX. I am glad now that you letted me, for my heade akes with lookinge on it, and becauſe you tell me ſo, I am very ſorye that I was not with thoſe good fellowes you ſpake upon, for it is a very fayre day for a man to ſhoote in.

PHI. And, methincke, you were a great deale better occupyed, and in better company, for it is a very fayre day for a man to go to his booke in. TOX. All dayes and wethers will ſerve for that purpoſe, and ſurely this occaſion was ill loſt. PHI. Yea, but cleare wether maketh cleare mindes, and it is beſt, as I ſuppoſe, to ſpende the beſt time upon the beſt thinges: and me thought you ſhotte verye well, and at that marke, at whiche everye good ſcholer ſhoulde moſt buſilye ſhote at. And I ſuppoſe it be a great deale more pleaſure alſo to ſee a ſoule flye in *Plato*, than a ſhafte flye at the prickes. I graunte you, ſhootinge is not the worſte thinge in the world, yet if we ſhote, and time ſhote, we are not like to be great winners at the lengthe. And you know alſo we ſcholers have more earneſt and weightye matters in hande, nor we be not borne to paſtime and playe, as you knowe well enoughe who ſayeth. TOX. Yet the ſame man, in the ſame place, *Philologe*, by your leave, doth admitte holeſome, honeſt, and manerlye paſtimes, to be as neceſſarye to be mingled with ſadde matters of the minde, as eatinge and ſleapinge is for the healthe of the bodye, and yet we be borne for neyther of both. And *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſayth, that althoughe it were a fonde and a childiſhe thinge to be to earneſt in paſtime and playe, yet doth he affirme, by the authority of the olde poet *Epicharmus*, that a man may uſe play for earneſt matters ſake. And in another place, that, as reſt is for laboure, and medecines for healthe, ſo is paſtime, at times, for ſadde and weightye ſtudye. PHI. How muche in this matter is to be geven to the authoritye eyther of *Ariſtotle* or *Tullye* I can not tell, ſeinge ſadde men may well enoughe ſpeake merilye for a merye matter: this I am ſure, whiche thinge this fayre wheate (God ſave it) maketh mee remember, that thoſe huſbandmen whiche ryſe earlyeſt, and come lateſt home, and are contente to have theyr dinner and other drinkynges broughte into the fielde to them, for feare of looſinge of tyme, have fatter barnes in the harveſt, than they which will either ſleape at noone tyme of the day

M. Cic. in Off.

Ariſt. de moribus, 10. 6.

Ariſt. Pol. 8. 3.

day, or els make merye with theyr neighbours at the ale. And ſo a ſcholar that purpoſeth to be a good huſbande, and deſyreth to reape and enioye much fruite of learninge, muſt till and ſowe * thereafter. Our beſt ſeede tyme, whiche be ſcholers, as it is very tymely, and when we be yonge: ſo it endureth not over long, and therefore it may not be let ſlippe one houre: our grounde is very harde, and full of weedes, our horſe wherewith we be drawen very wilde, as *Plato* ſayth. And infinite other mo lettes, which will make a thriftye ſcholer take heede howe he ſpendeth his time in ſport and playe. Tox. That *Ariſtotle* and *Tullye* ſpake earneſtlye, and as they thoughte, the earneſte matter whiche they entreate upon, doth plainlye prove. And, as for your huſbandrye, it was more † probablye tolde with apte wordes proper to the thinge, than thoroughlye proved with reaſons belonginge to our matter. For, contrarywyſe, I heard myſelfe a good huſbande at his booke once ſaye, that to omitte ſtudye ſome tyme of the daye, and ſome tyme of the yeare, made as much for the encreaſe of learnynge, as to let the lande lye ſome tyme falloe, maketh for the better increaſe of corne. This we ſee, if the lande be plowed every yeare, the corne cometh thinne up: the ear is ſhort, the grain is ſmall, and, when it is brought into the barne and threſhed, geveth very evill ‡ faule. So thoſe which never leave poringe on theyr bookes, have oftentimes as thinne invention, as other poore men have, and as ſmall witte and weight in it as in other mens. And thus your huſbandrye, me thincke, is more like the life of a covetous ſnudge that ofte very evill proves, then the labour of a good huſbande that knoweth well what he doth. And ſurelye the beſt wittes to learninge muſt needes have much recreation and ceaſynge from theyr booke, or els they marre themſelves; when baſe and dompiſhe wittes can never be hurte with continual ſtudye, as ye ſee in lutinge, that a treble minikin ſtringe muſt alwayes be let downe, but at ſuch tyme as when a man muſt needes play, when the baſe and dull ſtringe needeth never to be moved out of his place. The ſame reaſon I finde true in two bowes that I have, whereof the one is quicke of caſte, ‖ tricke, and trimme both for pleaſure and profite: the other is a lugge ſlowe of caſte, followinge the ſtringe, more ſure for to laſt, then pleaſant for to uſe. Now, Sir, it chaunced this other night, one in my chamber would needes bende them to prove their ſtrengthe, but (I can- In Phædro.

* In order to it.
‡ *Faule* or *Fall*, is *Produce*.
† *Probably* is *ſpeciouſly*.
‖ *Tricke* or *Trickſy*, is neat, nice, elegant.

not

not tell howe) they were both leſte bente till the next day after dinner: and when I came to them, purpoſinge to have gone on ſhootinge, I founde my good bowe clene * caſt on the one ſyde, and as weake as water, that ſurelye, if I were a riche man, I had rather have ſpent a crowne: and as for my lugge, it was not one whit the worſe, but ſhotte by and by as well and as farre as ever it did. And even ſo, I am ſure that good wittes, excepte they be let downe lyke a treble ſtringe, and unbente lyke a good caſting bowe, they will never laſt and be able to continue in ſtudye. And I know where I ſpake this, *Philologe*, for I would not ſay thus much afore younge men, for they will take ſoone occaſion to ſtudye litle ynoughe. But I ſaye it therefore, becauſe I knowe, as litle ſtudye getteth litle learnyng, or none at all, ſo the moſt ſtudye getteth not the moſt learninge of all. For a mans witte ſore occupyed in earneſt ſtudye muſt be as well recreated with ſome honeſt paſtime, as the bodye ſore laboured muſte be refreſhed with ſleape and quietneſſe, or elſe it cannot endure verye longe, as the noble poete ſayth:

Ovid. † *What thinge wants quiet and mery reſt, endures but a ſmall while.*

And I promiſe you ſhootinge, by my iudgement, is the moſt honeſte paſtime of all, and ſuche one, I am ſure, of all other, that hindereth learninge litle or nothinge at all, whatſoever you and ſome other ſaye, which are a great deale ſorer againſt it alwayes than you neede to be. PHI. Hindereth learninge litle or nothinge at all! that were a marveile to me trulye, and I am ſure, ſeinge you ſay ſo, you have ſome reaſon wherwith you can defende ſhootinge with all, and as for will, (for the love that you beare towarde ſhootinge) I thincke there ſhall lacke none in you. Therefore, ſeinge we have ſo good leyſure both, and no bodye by to trouble us: and you ſo willinge and able to defende it, and I ſo readye and glade to heare what may be ſaid of it, I ſuppoſe we cannot paſſe the time better over, neyther you for the ‡ honeſtye of your ſhootinge, nor I for mine own minde ſake, than to ſee what can be ſayed with it, or againſt it, and ſpecialye in theſe days, when ſo many doth uſe it, and every man, in a maner, doth commune of it.

TOX. To ſpeake of ſhootinge, *Philologe*, trulye I would I were ſo able, eyther as I myſelfe am willinge, or yet as the matter deſerveth; but ſeinge with wiſhinge we cannot have one nowe worthy, which ſo worthye a thinge can worthelye prayſe, and although I had rather have any

* *Caſt* is *warped*. The word is ſtill uſed by artificers.

† If this line was ſo tranſlated when this treatiſe was firſt written in 1544, it is the oldeſt Engliſh hexameter that I remember.

‡ *Honeſty* is *Honour*.

other

other to do it than myſelfe, yet myſelfe rather then no other, I will not fayle to ſay in it what I can. Wherein if I ſay litle, laye that of my litle habilitye, not of the matter itſelfe, which deſerveth no litle thinge to be ſayde of it. Phi. If it deſerve no litle thinge to be ſayde of it, *Toxophile*, I marveile how it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto hath written anye thinge of it: wherein you muſte graunt me, that eyther the matter is nought, unworthye, and barren to be written upon, or els ſome men are to blame, which both love it and uſe it, and yet coulde never finde in theyr harte, to ſaye one good woorde of it, ſeinge that verye triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to ſet them oute, as * gnattes and nuttes, and many other more like thinges, wherefore eyther you may honeſtlye laye very great faulte upon men, becauſe they never yet prayſed it, or els I may iuſtlye take away no litle thinge from ſhootinge, becauſe it never yet deſerved it. Tox. Truelye, herein, *Philologe*, you take not ſo much from it, as you geve to it. For great and commodious thynges are never greatlye prayſed, not becauſe they be not worthye, but becauſe theyr excellencye needeth no man his prayſe, havinge all theyr commendation of themſelfe, not borrowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayſe themſelfe, in ſpeakinge muche of a litle thinge, then that matter which they entreat upon. Great and good thinges be not prayſed: "For who ever prayſed "*Hercules?*" (ſayth the *Greeke* proverbe.) And that no man hitherto hath written anye booke of ſhootinge, the faulte is not to be layed in the thinge which was worthye to be written upon, but of men which were negligente in doinge it, and this was the cauſe thereof as I ſuppoſe. Menne that uſed ſhootinge moſt and knewe it beſt, were not learned: men that were learned, uſed litle ſhootinge, and were ignoraunt in the nature of the thinge, and ſo fewe men have bene that hitherto were able to write upon it. Yet how long ſhootinge hath continued, what common wealthes hath moſt uſed it, how honeſt a thinge it is for all men, what kinde of lyvinge ſoever they folowe, what pleaſure and profite commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues and writers, *Hebrewe*, *Greeke*, and *Latine*, hath ſo plentifullye ſpoken of it, as of few other thinges like. So what ſhootinge is, howe many kindes there is of it, what goodneſſe is ioyned with it, is tolde: onlye how it is to be learned and broughte to a perfectneſſe amonges men, is not tolde. Phi. Then, *Toxophile*, if it be ſo as you do ſaye, let us go forwarde, and examine howe plentifullye this is done that you

* The Gnat of *Virgil*, and the Nut of *Ovid*.

 ſpeake;

ſpeake; and, firſt, of the invention of it, then what honeſtye and profite is in the uſe of it, both for warre and peace, more than in other paſtimes; laſt of all howe it oughte to be learned amonges men, for the encreaſe of it. Which thinge if you do, not onlye I nowe, for your communication, but many other mo, when they ſhall knowe of it, for your labour, and ſhootinge itſelfe alſo (if it could ſpeake) for your kindneſſe, will con you very muche thancke. Tox. What goode thinges men ſpeake of ſhootinge, and what good thinges ſhootinge bringes to men, as my witte and knowledge will ſerve me, gladly ſhall I ſaye my minde. But howe the thinge is to be learned, I will ſurelye leave to ſome other, which, both for greater experience in it, and alſo for their learnynge, can ſet it out better than I. Phi. Well, as for that, I knowe both what you can do in ſhootinge, by experience, and that you can alſo ſpeake well ynough of ſhootinge, for your learnynge: but go on with the firſt part. And I do not doubt, but what my deſire, what your love towardes it, the honeſtye of ſhootinge, the profit that may come thereby to many others, ſhall get the ſecond part out of you at the laſt. Tox. Of the firſt finders out of ſhootinge, divers men diverſlye do wryte. *Claudiane* the poete ſayth, that nature geve example of ſhootinge firſt, by the * *Porpentine*, which ſhoote his prickes, and will hitte anye thinge that fightes with it: wherebye men learned afterwarde did imitate the ſame, in findinge out both bowe and ſhaftes. *Plinie* referreth it to *Schythes* the ſonne of *Jupiter*. Better, and more noble wryters, brynge ſhooting from a more noble inventour: as *Plato*, *Calimachus*, and *Galen*, from *Apollo*. Yet longe afore thoſe days we do read in the Bible of ſhootinge expreſſlye; and alſo, if we ſhall believe *Nicholas de Lyra*, *Lamech* killed *Cain* with a ſhafte. So this great continuance of ſhootinge dothe not a litle prayſe ſhootynge: nor that neyther dothe not a litle ſet it out, that it is referred to the invention of *Apollo*, for the which pointe ſhootinge is highlye prayſed of *Galen*; where he ſayth, that meane craftes be firſt founde out by men or beaſtes, as weavinge by a ſpider, and ſuch other: but high and commendable ſciences by Goddes, as ſhootinge and muſicke by *Apollo*. And thus ſhootinge, for the neceſſitye of it, uſed in *Adams* days, for the nobleneſſe of it referred to *Apollo*, hath not bene onlye commended in all tongues and wryters, but alſo had in great price, both in the beſt common wealthes, in warre time, for the defence of their countrye, and of all degrees of men in peace time, both for the honeſtye that is ioyned

C. Claudianus in Hiſtri.

Plin. 7. 56.

in Sympo. in hymn. ad Apol.

Geneſis. 21. Ni. de Lyra.

Galenus in exhor. ad bonas artes.

* Porcupine.

with it, and the profite that followeth of it. PHI. Well, as concerninge the findinge out of it, litle prayſe is gotten to ſhootinge therebye, ſeynge good wittes maye moſt eaſilye of all finde out a triflinge matter. But whereas you ſaye, that moſt common wealthes have uſed it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men may verye honeſtlye uſe it in peace tyme: I thincke you can neyther ſhew by authoritye, nor yet prove by reaſon. TOX. The uſe of it in warre tyme, I will declare hereafter. And firſt, howe all kindes and ſortes of men (what degree ſoever they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe may honeſtlye uſe it, the example of moſt noble men very well doth prove.

Cyaxares, the Kinge of the *Medees*, and great grand father to *Cyrus*, kept a ſort of *Sythians* with him onlye for this purpoſe, to teache his ſonne *Aſtyages* to ſhoote. *Cyrus*, beinge a childe, was broughte uppe in ſhootinge; which thinge *Zenophon* would never have made mention on, excepte it had bene fitte for all Princes to have uſed: ſeinge that *Zenophon* wrote *Cyrus* lyfe, (as *Tullye* ſayth) not to ſhew what *Cyrus* did, but what all maner of Princes, both in paſtymes and earneſt matters, ought to do. Herod. in Clio. Xen. in Inſti. Cyri. 1. Ad Quint. Fra. 1. 1.

Darius, the firſt of that name, and kinge of *Perſia*, ſhewed plainlye howe fitte it is for a Kinge to love and uſe ſhootinge, which commaunded this ſentence to be graven in his tombe, for a princelye memorye and prayſe.

Darius the Kinge lyeth buried here, Strabo. 15.
That in ſhootinge and rydinge had never pere.

Agayne, *Domitian* the Emperour was ſo cunninge in ſhootinge, that he coulde ſhote betwixt a mans fingers ſtanding afarre off, and never hurte him. *Commodus* alſo was ſo excellente, and had ſo ſure a hand in it, that there was nothinge within his reach and ſhote, but he would hit in what place he would; as beaſts runninge, eyther in the head, or in the harte, and never miſſe; as *Herodiane* ſayeth he ſawe himſelfe, or els he could never have believed it. PHI. Indeede you prayſe ſhootinge very well, in that you ſhew that *Domitian* and *Commodus* love ſhootinge, ſuch an ungratious couple, I am ſure, as a man ſhall not finde agayne, if he raked all hell for them. TOX. Well, even as I Suet. Herodia. 1.

will not commend theyr ilneſſe, ſo oughte not you to diſprayſe theyr goodneſſe; and indeede, the iudgmente of *Herodian* uppon *Commodus* is true of them bothe, and that was this: that beſyde ſtrengthe of bodye and good ſhootinge, they had no princelye thinge in them; whiche fayinge, methincke, commendes ſhootinge wonderfullye, calling it a princelye thinge. Forthermore, howe commendable ſhootinge is for Princes:

Themiſt. in Orat. 6. *Themiſtius*, the noble philoſopher, ſhewethe in a certaine oration made to *Theodoſius* the Emperour, wherein he dothe commende him for three thinges, that he uſed of a childe: For ſhootinge, for ryding of an horſe well, and for feates of armes.

Moreover, not onely Kinges and Emperours have been broughte up in ſhootinge, but alſo the beſt common wealthes that ever were, have made goodlye acts and lawes for it, as the *Perſians*, whiche under *Cyrus*

Herod. in Clio. conquered, in a maner, all the world, had a lawe that their children ſhoulde learne three thinges onlye from five yeares oulde unto twenty, to ryde an horſe well, to ſhoote well, to ſpeake truthe alwayes and never

Leo de ſtratag. 20. lye. The *Romaynes* (as *Leo* the Emperour in his book of ſleightes of warre telleth) had a lawe that everye man ſhoulde uſe ſhootinge in peace tyme, while he was forty yeare oulde, and that everye houſe ſhoulde have a bowe, and forty ſhaftes, ready for all needes; the omittinge of which lawe (ſayth *Leo*) amonge the youthe, hathe bene the onlye occaſion why the *Romaynes* loſt a great deale of theyr empyre. But more of this I will ſpeake when I come to the profite of ſhootinge in warre. If I ſhoulde rehearſe the ſtatutes made of noble Princes of *Englande* in parliamentes, for the ſettinge forwarde of ſhootinge, throughe this realme, and ſpecially that acte made for ſhootinge the thirde yeare of the raigne of our moſt dreade Soveraigne Lord Kinge *Henrye* the VIII. I coulde be verye longe. But theſe fewe examples, ſpeciallye of ſo greate men and noble common wealthes, ſhall ſtande in ſteede of manye. PHI. That ſuche Princes, and ſuche common wealthes have muche regarded ſhootinge, you have well declared. But whye ſhootinge oughte ſo of itſelfe to be regarded, you have ſcarcelye yet proved.

TOX. Examples, I graunt, out of hiſtoryes do ſhewe a thinge to be ſo, not prove a thinge why it ſhould be ſo. Yet this I ſuppoſe, that neyther great mens qualityes, beinge commendable, be withoute great auctoritye, for other men honeſtlye to followe them; nor yet thoſe great

great learned men that wrote ſuch thinges, lacke good reaſon iuſtlye at all tymes for anye other to approve them. Princes, beinge children, oughte to be brought uppe in ſhootinge, bothe becauſe it is an exerciſe moſt holſome, and alſo a paſtime moſte honeſt: wherein laboure prepareth the bodye to hardneſſe, the minde to couragiouſneſſe, ſufferinge neyther the one to be marde with tenderneſſe, nor yet the other to be hurte with ydleneſſe, as we reade howe *Sardanapalus* and ſuch other were, beeauſe they were not brought up with outwarde honeſt painfull paſtimes to be men, but cockerde up with inwarde noughtye ydle wantonneſſe to be women. For howe fitte laboure is for all youthe, *Jupiter* or els *Minos* amonges them of *Greece*, and *Lycurgus* amonge the *Lacedemonians*, do ſhewe by theyr lawes, whiche never ordeyned anye thinge for the bringinge up of youth, that was not ioyned with labour; and that labour whiche is in ſhootinge of all other is beſt, both becauſe it encreaſeth ſtrengthe, and preſerveth healthe moſt, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not overlayinge anye one parte with wearineſſe, but ſoftlye exerciſinge everye parte with equalneſſe, as the arms and breaſtes with drawinge, the other parts with goinge, beinge not ſo painfull for the labour, as pleaſaunt for the paſtime, which exerciſe, by the iudgment of the beſte phyſitions, is moſt alowable. By ſhootinge alſo is the minde honeſtlye exerciſed, where a man alwayes deſireth to be beſt, (which is a word of honeſtye) and that by the ſame way, that vertue itſelfe dothe, coveting to come nigheſt a moſt perfitte ende, or mean ſtandinge betwixte two extremes, eſchewinge ſhorte, or gone, or eyther ſyde wyde, for the which cauſes *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſayth, that ſhootinge and vertue be very lyke. Moreover, that ſhootinge of all other is the moſt honeſt paſtyme, and that leaſte occaſion to naughtineſſe is ioyned with it, two thinges verye plainly do prove, whiche be, as a man would ſaye, the tutors and overſeers to ſhootinge: daye light, and open place where everye man dothe come, the mainteiners and kepers of ſhootinge, from all unhoneſte doinge. If ſhootinge fault at anye time, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and huddermother: but openlye accuſeth and bewrayeth itſelfe, which is the next way to amendment, as wyſe men do ſaye. And theſe thinges, I ſuppoſe, be ſignes, not of naughtineſſe, for anye man to diſalowe it, but rather verye plaine tokens of honeſtye, for every man to prayſe it. The uſe of ſhootinge alſo in great mennes children ſhall greatly encreaſe the love and uſe of ſhootinge in all the reſidue of youth. For meane mennes

Cic. 2. Tuſ. Qu.

Galen. 2. de Santuend.

Ariſtot. de morib.

mindes

In Nic. mindes love to be like great men, as *Plato* and *Iſocrates* do ſaye. And that everye bodye ſhoulde learne to ſhoote, when they be younge, defence of the common wealthe doth require when they be olde, whiche thinge cannot be done mightelye when they be men, excepte they learne it perfetlye when they be boyes. And therefore ſhootinge of all paſtymes is moſt fitte to be uſed in childhoode: becauſe it is an imitation of moſt earneſte thinges to be done in manhode. Wherefore, ſhootinge is fitte for great mennes children, both becauſe it ſtrengtheneth the bodye with holſome laboure, and pleaſeth the minde with honeſt paſtyme, and alſo encourageth all other youthe earneſtlye to followe the ſame. And theſe reaſons (as I ſuppoſe) ſtirred uppe both great men to bringe uppe their children in ſhootinge, and alſo noble common wealthes ſo ſtraitly to commaunde ſhootinge. Therefore ſeinge Princes, moved by honeſt occaſions, have in all common wealthes uſed ſhootinge, I ſuppoſe there is no other degree of men, neyther lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, younge nor olde. * Phi. You ſhall neede wade no further in this matter, *Toxophile*, but if you can prove me that ſcholers and men geven to learnynge maye honeſtlye uſe ſhootinge, I will ſoon graunt you that all other ſortes of men may not onlye lawfullye, but oughte of dutye to uſe it. But I thincke you cannot prove but that all theſe examples of ſhootinge broughte from ſo long a tyme, uſed of ſo noble Princes, confirmed by ſo wyſe mennes lawes and iudgements, are ſet afore temporal men, onelye to followe them; whereby they maye the better and ſtronglyer defende the common wealth withall; and nothinge belongeth to ſcholars and learned men, which have another part of the common wealthe, quiete and peaceable put to theyr cure and charge, whoſe ende, as it is diverſe from the other, ſo there is no one way that leadeth to them bothe. Tox. I graunt, *Philologe*, that ſcholers and layemen have divers offices and charges in the common wealthe, which requires divers bringyng uppe in theyr youthe, if they ſhall do them as they oughte to do in theyr age. Yet as temporal men of neceſſitye are compelled to take ſomewhat of learnynge to do theyr office the better withall, ſo ſcholars may the boldlyer borrowe ſomewhat of layemennes paſtymes to mainteine theyr healthe in ſtudye withal. And ſurelye, of all other thynges, ſhootinge is neceſſarye for bothe ſortes to learne. Which thinge, when it has bene evermore uſed in *Englande*, howe much good it hath done, both old men and chronicles do tell: and

* Here ſeems to be ſome deficience in the copy.

alſo

alſo our enemies can bear us recorde. For if it be true as I have heard ſaye, when the Kinge of *Englande* hath bene in *Fraunce*, the Prieſtes at home, becauſe they were archers, have bene able to overthrow all *Scotlande*. Againe, there is another thynge, which above all other dothe move me, not onlye to love ſhootinge, to prayſe ſhootinge, to exhorte all other to ſhootinge, but alſo to uſe ſhootinge myſelfe: and that is our late Kinge *Henrye* the eyghte his moſt royal purpoſe and will, whiche in all his ſtatutes generallye dothe commaund men, and with his owne mouth moſt gently did exhorte men, and by his great giftes and rewardes greatlye did encourage men, and with his moſt princelye example verye often did provoke all other men to the ſame. But here you will come with temporall man and ſcholer. I tell you plainly, ſcholer or unſcholer, yea if I were twenty ſcholers, I woulde thincke it were mye dutye, bothe with exhortinge men to ſhoote, and alſo with ſhootinge myſelfe, to helpe to ſet forwarde that thinge which the Kinge his wyſedome, and his counſaile, ſo greatlye laboure to have go forward: which thinge ſurelye they did, becauſe they knew it to be, in warre, the defence and wall of our countreye; in peace, an exerciſe moſt holſome for the bodye, a paſtyme moſt honeſte for the minde, and, as I am able to prove myſelfe, of all other moſte fitte and agreeable with learnynge and learned men. PHI. If you can prove this thynge ſo plainlye, as you ſpeak it earneſtlye, then will I not onelye thincke as you do, but become a ſhooter, and do as you do. But yet beware, I ſay, leſt you, for the great love you beare towarde ſhootinge, blindly iudge of ſhootinge. For love, and all other too earneſt affections, be not for noughte painted blinde. Take heede (I ſay) leſt you prefer ſhooting afore other paſtymes, as one *Balbinus*, through blinde affection, preferred his lover before all other women, although ſhe was deformed with a *Polyppus* in her noſe. And although ſhootinge may be meete ſome tyme for ſome ſcholers, and ſo forth; yet the fitteſt alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore, if you will needes graunt ſcholers paſtyme and recreation of theyr mindes, let them uſe (as manye of them do) *Muſicke* and playinge on inſtruments, thinckinge moſt ſeemlye for all ſcholers, and moſt regarded alwayes of *Apollo* and the *Muſes*. TOX. Even as I cannot denye but ſome *Muſicke* is fit for learninge, ſo I truſt you cannot chooſe but graunt, that ſhootinge is fit alſo, as *Callimachus* doth ſignifye in this verſe: Cal. hym.

Both

—Both merie ſonges and good ſhootinge delighteth Apollo.—

But as concerninge whether of them is moſt fitte for learninge, and ſcholers to uſe, you may ſaye what you will for your pleaſure, this I am ſure that *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* bothe, in theyr bookes entreatinge of the common wealthe, where they ſhewe howe youthe ſhould be brought uppe in four thinges, in readinge, in writinge, in exerciſe of bodye, and ſinginge, do make mention of *Muſicke* and all kyndes of it, wherein they bothe agree, that *Muſicke* uſed amonges the *Lydians* is very ill for young men, which be ſtudentes for vertue and learnynge, for a certaine nyce, ſofte, and ſmoothe ſweteneſſe of it, whiche would rather entice them to noughtines, then ſtirre them to honeſtye.

An other kinde of *Muſicke*, invented by the *Dorians*, they bothe wonderfully prayſe, alowinge it to be very fitte for the ſtudye of vertue and learninge, becauſe of a manlye, roughe and ſtoute ſounde in it, whiche ſhould encourage younge ſtomakes to attempte manlye matters. Nowe whether theſe balades and roundes, theſe galiardes, pavanes and daunces, ſo nycelye fingered, ſo ſweetlye tuned, be lyker the *Muſicke* of the *Lydians*, or the *Dorians*, you that be learned iudge. And whatſoever ye iudge, this I am ſure, that lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, ſambukes, with other inſtrumentes every one, whiche ſtandeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be condemned of *Ariſtotle*, as not to be broughte in and uſed among them, which ſtudye for learnynge and vertue.

Ariſt. Pol.

Pallas, when ſhe had invented a pipe, caſte it awaye, not ſo muche, ſayth *Ariſtotle*, becauſe it deformed her face, but muche rather becauſe ſuch an inſtrument belonged nothinge to learninge. Howe ſuche inſtrumentes agree with learninge, the goodlye agreement betwixt *Apollo* God of learninge, and *Marſias* the *Satyr*, defender of pypinge, dothe well declare, where *Marſias* had his ſkinne quite pulled over his heade for his laboure.

Muche *Muſicke* marreth mennes maners, ſayth *Galen*, althoughe ſome men will ſaye that it dothe not ſo, but rather recreateth and maketh quicke a mannes minde, yet, methincke, by reaſon it doth as honye dothe to mannes ſtomacke, whiche at firſt receiveth it well, but afterward

afterward it maketh it unfit to abyde any good ſtronge nouriſhinge meate, or els any holſome ſharpe and quicke drincke. And even ſo in a maner theſe inſtrumentes make a mans wittes ſo ſofte and ſmothe, ſo tender and quaiſye, that they be leſſe able to broke ſtronge and toughe ſtudye. Wittes be not ſharpened, but rather dulled and made blunt, with ſuche ſweete ſoftneſſe, even as good edges be blonter, whiche men whette upon ſoft chalke ſtones.

And theſe thinges to be true, not onlye *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Galen*, prove by authoritye of reaſon, but alſo *Herodotus* and other writers, ſhewe by plaine and evident example; as that of *Cyrus*, which, after he had overcome the *Lydians*, and taken their king *Creſus* priſoner, yet after, by the meanes of one *Pactyas*, a very heady man amonges the *Lydians*, they rebelled againſt *Cyrus* againe; then *Cyrus* had by and by brought them to utter deſtruction, if *Creſus*, beinge in good favour with *Cyrus*, had not heartelye deſyred him not to revenge *Pactyas* faulte, in ſheddinge their bloode. But if he would folowe his counſaile, he might bringe to paſſe, that theye ſhoulde never more rebel againſt him. And that was this, to make them weare long kyrtils to the foote, like women, and that everye one of them ſhoulde have a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and ſinge. Which thinge if you do, ſayth *Creſus*, (as he did indeed) you ſhall ſee them quickly of men made women. And thus lutinge and ſinginge take awaye a manlye ſtomacke, whiche ſhoulde enter and pearce deepe and harde ſtudye. Herod. in Clio.

Even ſuch another ſtorye dothe *Nymphodorus*, an olde *Greeke* hiſtoriographer, write of one *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt*, which ſtorye, becauſe it is ſomewhat longe, and very like in all pointes to the other, and alſo you do well enoughe to remember it, ſeinge you redde it ſo late in *Sophocles Commentaries*, I will now paſſe over. Therefore eyther *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* knowe not what was good and evill for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyſe hiſtoryes be vainly ſet afore us, or els the minſtrelſye of lutes, pypes, harpes, and all other that ſtandeth by ſuch nyce, fine minikin fingeringe, (ſuche as the moſte parte of ſcholers whom I knowe uſe, if they uſe anye) is farre more fitte for the womanniſhnes of it to dwel in the Courte among ladyes, than for any great thinge in it, which ſhoulde helpe good and ſadde ſtudye, to abide in the *Univerſity* amonge ſcholers. But perhaps you know ſome great goodneſſe of Nymphod. Comment. in Antig.

ſuche *Muſicke* and ſuche inſtrumentes, whereunto *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* his brayne coulde never attayne, and therefore I will ſaye no more againſt it.

Phi. Well, *Toxophile*, is it not enough for you to rayle uppon *Muſicke*, excepte you mocke me to? but to ſay the truthe, I never thoughte myſelfe theſe kyndes of *Muſicke* fitte for learninge, but that whiche I ſayde was rather to prove you, than to defend the matter. But yet as I woulde have this ſorte of *Muſicke* decaye among ſcholers, even ſo do I wiſhe from the bottom of my hart, that the laudable cuſtome of *Englande* to teache children their plaine ſonge and pricke ſonge, were not ſo decayed throughoute all the realme as it is. Whiche thinge how profitable it was for all ſortes of men, thoſe knewe not ſo well than which had it moſte, as they do nowe which lacke it moſt. And therefore it is true that *Teucer* ſayth in *Sophocles:*

Sophocles in Aice.

* *Seldome at all good thinges be knowen how good to be*
Before a man ſuch thinges do miſſe out of his handes.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringinge up of children than *Muſicke* is, both *Galen* proveth by auctoritye, and daily uſe teacheth by experience. For even the little babes lackinge the uſe of reaſon, are ſcarce ſo well ſtilled in ſucking their mothers pappe, as in hearinge their mother ſinge: Again, how fit youth is made, by learninge to ſinge, for *Grammar* and other ſciences, both we dailye do ſee, and *Plutarch* learnedly doth prove, and *Plato* wyſelye did allow, which received no ſcholer into his ſchole, that had not learned his ſong before. The godlye uſe of prayſinge God, by ſinginge in the churche, needeth not my prayſe, ſeinge it is ſo prayſed throughe all the Scripture, therefore now I will ſpeak nothing of it, rather than I ſhoulde ſpeake to littl of it.

Beſyde all theſe commodities, truelye two degrees of men, which have the higheſt offices under the Kinge in all this realme, ſhall greatly lacke the uſe of ſinginge, *Preachers* and *Lawyers*, becauſe they ſhall not, without this, be able to rule their breaſtes for everye purpoſe. For where is no diſtinction in tellinge glade thinges and fearful thinges, gentlenes and cruelnes, ſoftnes and

* Theſe lines are written in imitation of the *Senarius*.

vehe-

vehementnes, and ſuch like matters, there can be no great perſwaſion. For the hearers, as *Tullie* ſayth, be much affectioned, as he is that ſpeaketh. At his words be they drawen; if he ſtand ſtill in one faſhion, their mindes ſtande ſtill with him: if he thunder, they quake: if he chide, they fere: if he complaine, they ſorye with him: and finallye, where a matter is ſpoken with an apte voice for everye affection, the hearers, for the moſt part, are moved as the ſpeaker woulde. But when a man is alwaye in one tune, like an humble bee, or els now in the top of the churche, now downe that no man knoweth where to have him: or piping like a reede, or roringe like a bull, as ſome lawyers do, which thincke they do beſt, when they crye lowdeſt, theſe ſhall never greatly move, as I have knowen manye well learned have done, becauſe theyr voyce was not ſtayed afore, with learninge to ſinge. For all voyces, great and ſmall, baſe and ſhrill, weake or ſoft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learning to ſinge.

Whether this be true or not, they that ſtand moſt in nede can tell beſte, whereof ſome I have knowen, which, becauſe they learned not to ſinge, when they were boyes, were fayne to take paine in it, when they were men. If anye man ſhoulde heare me, *Toxophile*, that woulde thincke I did but fondlye to ſuppoſe that a voyce were ſo neceſſarye to be loked upon, I would aſke him if he thoughte nature a foole, for makinge ſuch goodlye inſtrumentes in a man, for well uttering his wordes, or els if the two noble orators *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, were not fooles, whereof the one did not onlye learne to ſinge of a man, but alſo was not aſhamed to learne how he ſhoulde utter his ſoundes aptlye of a dogge; the other ſetteth oute no point of *Rhetoricke* ſo fullye in all his bookes, as howe a man ſhould order his voyce for all kinde of matters.

Therefore ſeinge men, by ſpeakinge, differ and be better than beaſtes, by ſpeakinge well better than other men, and that ſinginge is an helpe towarde the ſame, as daylye experience doth teache, example of wyſe men doth alowe, authority of learned men doth approve, wherewith the foundation of youth in all good common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered: ſurely if I were one of the parliament-houſe, I woulde not fayle to put up a bill for the amendmente of this thinge; but becauſe I am like to be none this yeare, I will ſpeake no more of it at this time. Tox. It were pitye truly, *Philologe*, that the thinge ſhoulde be neglected, but I truſt it is not as you ſay. Phi. The thinge

is to true, for of them that come dailye to the *Univerſitye*, where one hath learned to ſinge, ſix hath not.

But now to our ſhootinge, *Toxophile*, againe, wherein I ſuppoſe you cannot ſay ſo much for ſhootinge to be fitte for learninge, as you have ſpoken againſt *Muſicke* for the ſame. Therefore as concerninge *Muſicke*, I can be contente to graunt you your minde: but as for ſhootinge, ſurelye I ſuppoſe that you cannot perſwade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earneſt in it, and earneſt at his booke to: but rather I thincke that a man with a bowe on his backe, and ſhaftes under his girdle, is more fitte to wayte upon *Robin Hoode*, than upon *Apollo* or the *Muſes*. Tox. Over earneſt ſhootinge ſurelye I will not over earneſtlye defende, for I ever thought ſhootinge ſhoulde be a wayter upon learnynge, not a miſtreſs over learninge. Yet this I marveile not a little at, that ye thincke a man with a bowe on his backe is more like *Robin Hoodes* ſervaunte, than *Apollos*, ſeinge that *Apollo* himſelfe, in *Alceſtis* of *Euripides*, which tragedye you redde openlye not longe ago, in a manner glorifyeth, ſayinge this verſe.

Eurip. in Alceſt.

It is my wont alwayes my bowe with me to beare.

Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be aſhamed to beare that ſometime which *Apollo* God of learninge himſelfe was not aſhamed always to bear. And becauſe ye woulde have a man wayte upon the *Muſes*, and not at all meddle with ſhootinge; I marveile that you do not remember how that the nine *Muſes* their ſelfe as ſoone as they were borne, were put to norſe to a lady called *Euphemis*, which had a ſonne named *Erotus*, with whom the nine *Muſes*, for his excellent ſhootinge, kepte evermore companye withall, and uſed dailye to ſhoote together in the mounte *Parnaſſus:* and at laſt it chaunced this *Erotus* to dye, whoſe death the *Muſes* lamented greatlye, and fell all upon theyr knees fore *Jupiter* theyr father, and, at theyr requeſt, *Erotus*, for ſhootinge with the *Muſes* on earth, was a made a ſigne, and called *Sagittarius* in heaven. Therefore you ſee that if *Apollo* and the *Muſes* eyther were examples indeede, or onlye fayned of wyſe men to be examples of learninge, honeſt ſhootinge may well enoughe be companion with honeſt ſtudye. Phi. Well, *Toxophile*, if you have no ſtronger defence of ſhootinge than poetes, I feare if your companions which love

ſhootinge

ſhootinge heard you, they would thincke you made it but a triflinge and fablinge matter, rather than any other man that loveth not ſhootinge coulde be perſwaded by this reaſon to love it. Tox. Even as I am not ſo fonde but I knowe that theſe be fables, ſo I am ſure you be not ſo ignorante, but you know what ſuch noble wittes as the poetes had ment by ſuch matters, which oftentimes, under the covering of a fable, do hyde and wrappe in goodlye preceptes of philoſophie, with the true judgement of thinges. Whiche to be true ſpecially in *Homer* and *Euripides*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Galene*, plainlye do ſhewe: when throughe all theyr workes (in a manner) they determine all controverſies by theſe two poetes, and ſuch like authorityes. Therefore if in this matter I ſeeme to fable, and nothing prove, I am content you judge ſo on me, ſeinge the ſame judgement ſhall condemne with me *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Galene*, whom in that errour I am well content to followe. If theſe old examples prove nothinge for ſhootinge, what ſaye you to theſe? that the beſt learned and ſageſt men in this realme which be now alive, both love ſhootinge and uſe ſhootinge, as the beſt learned biſhops that be: amonges whom, *Philologe*, yourſelfe knowe four or five, which as in all good learninge, vertue and ſageneſſe, they geve other men example what thinge they ſhould do, even ſo by their ſhootinge they plainlye ſhewe what honeſt paſtime other men geven to learninge may honeſtlye uſe. That earneſt ſtudye muſt be recreated with ſome paſtime, ſufficientlye I have proved afore, both by reaſon and authoritye of the beſt learned men that ever wrote. Then ſeinge paſtimes be lawfull, the moſt fitteſt for learninge is to be ſought for. A paſtime, ſayth *Ariſtotle*, muſt be like a medicine. Medicines ſtande by contraryes; therefore, the nature of ſtudyinge conſidered, the fitteſt paſtime ſhall ſoon appeare. In ſtudye every part of the bodye is idle, which thinge cauſeth groſſe and cold humours to gather together and vexe ſcholers very much, the minde is altogether bent and ſette on work; a paſtime then muſt be had where everye part of the bodye muſt be laboured to ſeparate and leſſen ſuch humours withall, the minde muſt be unbent, to gather and fetch againe his quickneſs withall. Thus paſtimes for the minde onlye, be nothinge fitte for ſtudentes, becauſe the bodye, which is moſt hurt by ſtudye, ſhoulde take no profite at all thereat. This knewe *Eraſmus* very well, when he was here in *Cambrige*: which when he had been ſore at his booke (as *Garret* our booke-bynder has verye oft told me) for lacke of better exerciſe, would take his

horſe, and ryde about the market hill, and come againe. If a ſcholer ſhould uſe bowles or tennyes, the labour is ſo vehement and unequal, which is condemned of *Galene*; the example very ill for other men, when by ſo manye actes they be made unlawfull. Runninge, leapinge, and coytinge be to vile for ſcholers, and not fitte by *Ariſtotles* judgement: walkinge alone in the field hath no token of courage in it, a paſtime like a ſingle man that is neither fleſhe nor fiſhe. Therefore if a man would have a paſtime holſome and equall for every part of his bodye, pleaſant and full of courage for the minde, not vile and unhoneſt to geve ill example to laye men, not kept in gardines and corners, not lurkinge on the night and in holes, but evermore in the face of men, eyther to rebuke it when it doth ill, or els to teſtifye on it when it doth well; let him ſeeke chiefflye of all other for ſhootinge. PHI. Such common paſtimes as men commonly do uſe, I will not greatlye allowe to be fitte for ſcholers, ſeinge they may uſe ſuch exerciſes very well (I ſuppoſe) as *Galen* himſelfe doth allow. TOX. Theſe exerciſes, I remember very well, for I redde them within theſe two dayes, of the which ſome be theſe: to runne up and downe an hill, to clyme up a longe powle, or a rope, and there hange a while, to holde a man by his armes and wave with his heeles, muche like the paſtime that boyes uſe in the churche, when theyr maſter is awaye, to ſwinge and totter in a belrope: to make a fiſte, and ſtretche out both his armes, and ſo ſtand like a roode. To go on a mans tiptoes, ſtretchinge out the one of his armes forward, the other backeward, whiche, if he blered out his tongue alſo, might be thoughte to dance anticke verye properlye. To tumble over and over, to toppe over tayle: to ſet backe to backe, and ſee who can heave an others heeles higheſt, wyth other much like: which exerciſes ſurely muſte needes be naturall, becauſe they be ſo childiſhe, and they maye be alſo holſome for the bodye, but ſurelye as for pleaſure to the minde, or honeſtye in the doinge of them, they be as like ſhootinge as *Yorke* is foule *Sutton*. Therefore to loke on all paſtimes and exerciſes holeſome for the bodye, pleaſaunt for the minde, comlye for every man to do, honeſt for all other to loke on, profitable to be ſet by of every man, worthy to be rebuked of no man, fitte for all ages, perſons and places, onlye ſhootinge ſhall appeare, wherein all theſe commodities may be founde. PHI. To graunt, *Toxophile*, that ſtudentes may at times convenient uſe ſhootinge as moſt holeſome and honeſt paſtime: yet to do as ſome do, to ſhoote hourelye, dailye, weekely,

Gal. de Sanctuend. 2.

weekely, and in a manner the whole yeare, neyther I can prayſe, nor any wyſe man will allowe, nor you yourſelfe can honeſtly defend.

Tox. Surelye, *Philologe*, I am very glad to ſee you come to that point that moſt lyeth in your ſtomache, and greveth you and others ſo muche. But I truſt, after I have ſayde my minde in this matter, you ſhall confeſſe your ſelfe, that you do rebuke this thinge more than ye neede, rather than you ſhall finde that any man maye ſpende by anye poſſibilitye, more time in ſhootinge then he oughte. For firſt and formoſt, the hole time is divided into two partes, the daye and the nighte: whereof the nighte maye be bothe occupyed in manye honeſt buſineſſes, and alſo ſpente in much unthriftineſſe, but in no wyſe it can be applyed to ſhootinge. And here you ſee that halfe our time, graunted to all other thinges in a manner both good and ill, is at one ſwappe quite taken awaye from ſhootinge. Now let us go forwarde, and ſee howe much of halfe this time of ours is ſpent in ſhootinge. The whole yeare is divided into four partes, ſpringe-time, ſommer, faule of the leafe, and winter. Whereof the winter, for the roughneſſe of it, is cleane taken away from ſhootinge: except it be one daye amonges twenty, or one yeare amonges forty. In ſommer, for the fervent heate, a man may ſaye likewiſe; excepte it be ſome time againſt night. Nowe then ſpringe time and faule of the leafe, be thoſe which we abuſe in ſhootinge.

But if we conſider howe mutable and changeable the weather is in thoſe ſeaſons, and howe that *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſayth, that moſt part of rayne fauleth in theſe two times; we ſhall well perceive, that where a man would ſhoote one daye, he ſhall be fayne to leave of four. Nowe when time itſelfe graunteth us but a little ſpace to ſhoote in, let us ſee if ſhootinge be not hindered amonges all kindes of men as muche other wayes.

Firſt, younge children uſe not; younge men, for fear of them whom they be under, too muche dare not; ſage men, for other greater buſines, will not; aged men, for lacke of ſtrengthe, cannot; riche men, for covetouſneſſe ſake, care not; poore men, for coſt and charge, may not; maiſters, for theyr houſhold kepinge, heede not; ſervauntes, kept in by theyr maiſters, verye oft ſhall not; crafteſmen, for gettinge of theyr lyvinge, very muche leyſure have not; and many there be that

oft

oft beginnes, but, for inaptneſſe, proves not; and moſt of all, which when they be ſhooters geve it over and liſt not: So that generallye men everye where, for one or other conſideration, much ſhootinge uſe not. Therefore theſe two thinges, ſtraytneſſe of time, and everye mans trade of lyvinge, are the cauſes that ſo fewe men ſhotes, as you may ſee in this greate towne, where as there be a thouſand good mennes bodyes, yet ſcarce ten that uſeth anye greate ſhootinge. And thoſe whom you ſee ſhoote the moſt, with how manye thinges are they drawen, or rather driven, from ſhootinge. For firſt, as it is manye a yeare or they begin to be great ſhooters, even ſo the great heate of ſhootinge is gone within a yeare or two: as you knowe diverſe, *Philologe*, yourſelfe, which were ſome time the beſt ſhooters, and now they be the beſt ſtudentes.

If a man faule ſicke, farewell ſhootinge, maye fortune as longe as he lyveth. If he have a wrentche, or have taken colde in his arme, he maye hange uppe his bowe (I warrant you) for a ſeaſon. A litle blayne, a ſmall cutte, yea a ſilye poore worme in his finger, maye keepe him from ſhootinge well enoughe. Breakinge and ill lucke in bowes I will paſſe over, with an hundred mo ſere thinges, which chaunceth every day to them that ſhoote moſt, whereof the leaſt of them maye compell a man to leave ſhootinge. And theſe thinges be ſo true and evident, that it is impoſſible eyther for me craftilye to fayne them, or els for you juſtlye to denye them. Then ſeeinge how manye hundred thinges are required altogether to geve a man leave to ſhoote, and any one of them denyed, a man cannot ſhoote; and ſeeinge every one of them may chaunce, and doth chaunce every daye, I marveile any wyſe man will thincke it poſſible, that any great time can be ſpent in ſhootinge at all.

Cardes and Dyſe.

Phi. If this be true that you ſaye, *Toxophile*, and in very dede, I can denye nothinge of it, I merveile greatly how it chaunceth, that thoſe which uſe ſhootinge be ſo much marked of men, and oft times blamed for it, and that in a manner as much as thoſe which playe at cardes and dyſe. And I ſhall tell you what I hearde ſpoken of the ſame matter. A man, no ſhooter, (not longe ago) would defend playing at cardes and dyſe, if it were honeſtlye uſed, to be as honeſt paſtime as your ſhootinge: for he layed for him, that a man might playe for a litle

litle at cardes and dyſe, and alſo a man might ſhoote away all that ever he had. He ſayde a payre of cardes coſt not paſt two pence, and that they neded not ſo much reparation as bowe and ſhaftes, they would never hurte a mans hande, nor never weare his gere. A man ſhould never flea a man with ſhooting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and colde, they woulde never forſake a man, he ſhewed what great varietye there is in them for every mans capacity: if one game were hard, he might eaſily learne an other: if a man have a good game, there is great pleaſure in it: if he have an ill game, the payne is ſhort, for he may ſone geve it over, and hope for a better: with many other mo reaſons. But at the laſt he concluded, that betwixte playinge and ſhootinge, well uſed or ill uſed, there was no difference: but that there was leſſe coſte and trouble, and a great deale more pleaſure in playinge, than in ſhootinge.

Tox. I cannot denye, but ſhootinge (as all other good thinges) may be abuſed. And good thinges ungodly uſed, are not good, ſayth an honourable biſhoppe in an earneſter matter than this is: yet we muſt be ware that we laye not mennes faultes upon the thinge which is not worthy, for ſo nothinge ſhould be good. And as for ſhootinge, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I have ſayd before) which ſhould be rather a token of honeſtye to prayſe it, then anye ſigne of noughtineſſe to diſalowe it, and that is becauſe it is in everye mans ſight; it ſeeketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be never ſo litle faulte in it, every man ſeeth it, it accuſeth itſelfe. For one houre ſpente in ſhootinge is more ſeene, and further talked of, than twenty nights ſpent in dyſinge, even as a little white ſtone is ſeene amonges three hundred blacke. Of theſe that blame ſhootinge and ſhooters, I will ſaye no more at this time but this, that beſide that they ſtoppe and hinder ſhootinge, which the ſtatutes would have forwarde, they be not much unlike in this pointe to *Wyll Sommer* the Kinges foole, which ſmiteth him that ſtandeth alwayes before his face, be he never ſo worſhipfull a man, and never greatlye lokes for him which lurkes behinde an other mans backe, that hurte him in deede.

But to him that compared gaminge with ſhootinge ſomewhat will I aunſwere, and becauſe he wente afore me in a compariſon: and compariſons, ſayth learned men, make plaine matters: I will ſurelye followe

In Phedro. him in the ſame. Honeſte thinges (ſayth *Plato)* be known from unhoneſt thinges by this difference, unhoneſtye hath ever preſent pleaſure in it, havinge neyther good pretence goinge before, nor yet anye profite followinge after: which ſayinge deſcryeth generallye, both the nature of ſhootinge and gaminge, which is good, and which is evill, verye well.

Gaminge hath joined with it a vaine preſente pleaſure, but there followeth loſſe of name, loſſe of goods, and winninge of an hundred gowtye, dropſye, diſeaſes, as everye man can tell. Shootinge is a paynfull paſtime, whereof followeth health of bodye, quickneſſe of witte, habilitye to defende our country, as our ennemyes can bear recorde.

Loth I am to compare theſe thinges together, and yet I do it not becauſe there is anye compariſon at all betwixte them, but thereby a man ſhall ſee how good the one is, how evill the other. For I thincke there is ſcarce ſo much contrarioufneſs betwixt hotte and cold, vertue and vice, as is betwixte theſe two thinges: For whatſoever is in the one, the cleane contrarye is in the other, as ſhall plainlye appere, if we conſider both theyr beginninges, theyr encreaſinges, theyr fruites, and theyr endes, which I will ſoone ridde over.

Pla. in Tim. The firſt bringer into the worlde of ſhootinge, was *Apollo*, which for his wyſdome, and greate commodityes, broughte amonges men by him, was eſteemed worthye to be counted as a God in heaven.

Dyſinge ſurelye is a baſtard borne, becauſe it is ſayde to have two fathers, and yet both nought: the one was an ungratious God, called *Theuth*, which, for his noughtineſſe, came never in other Goddes companyes, and therefore *Homer* doth deſpiſe once to name him in all his works. The other was a *Lydian* borne, which people for ſuch games, and other unthriftineſſe, as bowlinge and hauntinge of tavernes, have bene ever had in moſt vile reputation in all ſtoryes and writers.

Plato in Phedro.

Herod. in Clio.

The foſterer of ſhootinge is Labour, that companion of vertue, the mainteyner of honeſtye, the encreaſe of healthe and wealthineſſe, which admitteth nothinge, in a manner, into his companye that ſtandeth not with vertue and honeſtye; and therefore ſayth the olde Poete *Epichermus*

verye pretelye in *Zenophon*, that God ſelleth vertue, and all other good thinges to men for labour. The nource of dyſe and cardes, is verie ſome idleneſſe, enemye of vertue, the drowner of youthe, that taryeth in it, and, as *Chaucer* doth ſay verye well in the Parſons Tale, the grene path waye to hell, havinge this thinge appropriate unto it, that whereas other vices have ſome cloke of honeſtye, onlye idleneſs can neyther do well, nor yet thincke well. Againe; ſhootinge hath two tutours to loke upon it, out of whoſe companye ſhootinge never ſtirreth, the one called day-light, the other open place, which two kepe ſhootinge from evill companye, and ſuffer it not to have to much ſwinge, but ever more kepeth it under awe, that it dare do nothinge in the open face of the world, but that which is good and honeſt. Lykewiſe, dyſinge and cardinge have two tutours, the one named Solitariouſneſſe, which lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night, an ungratious cover of noughtineſſe, which two thinges be very inkepers and receyvers of all noughtineſſe and noughtye thinges, and thereto they be in a manner ordayned by nature. For, in the night time and in corners, ſpirites and theeves, rattes and miſe, toodes and oules, night crowes and poulcattes, foxes and * foumardes, with all other vermine, and noyſome beaſtes, uſe moſt ſtyrringe; when in the day-light, and in open places, which be ordayned of God for honeſt thinges, they dare not ones come, which thinge *Euripides* noteth very well, ſayinge,

Xen. de dict. & fact. Soc.

Ill thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt and uſe.

Companions of ſhootinge, be providentneſs, good heede geving, true meetinge, honeſt compariſon, which thinges agree with vertue verye well. Cardinge and dyſinge have a ſort of good felowes alſo, goinge commonlye in theyr companye, as blinde fortune, ſtumblinge chaunce, ſpittle lucke, falſe dealinge, craftye conveyaunce, brainleſſe brawlinge, falſe forſwearinge, which good fellowes will ſone take a man by the ſleve, and cauſe him take his inne, ſome with beggary, ſome with goute and dropſye, ſome with thefte and robbery, and ſeldome they will leave a man before he come eyther to hanginge, or els ſome other extreme myſerye. To make an ende, how ſhootinge by all mennes lawes hath bene alowed, cardinge and dyſinge by all mennes judgementes condempned, I neede not ſhew, the matter is ſo plaine.

Iph. in Tau.

* *Foumards*, by others called *Fumarts*, are, I believe, what we now call more commonly Stoats.

Therefore, when the *Lydians* ſhall invente better thinges than *Apollo*, when ſlouthe and ydleneſs ſhall encreaſe vertue more than laboure, when the night and lurkinge corners geveth leſſe occaſion to unthriftineſſe, than light day and openneſs, then ſhall ſhootinge, and ſuch gaminge, be in ſome compariſon like. Yet even, as I do not ſhewe all the goodneſs which is in ſhootinge, when I prove it ſtandeth by the ſame thinges that vertue itſelfe ſtandeth by, as brought in by gods, or god-like men, foſtered by labour, committed to the ſavegarde of light and openneſſe, accompanyed with proviſion and diligence, loved and allowed by everye good mans ſentence: even likewiſe do I not open halfe the naughtineſſe which is in cardinge and dyſinge, when I ſhewe how they are borne of a deſperate mother, nouriſhed in idleneſſe, encreaſed by lycence of nighte and corners, accompanyed with fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftineſſe: condemned and baniſhed by all lawes and judgementes.

For if I woulde enter to deſcribe the monſtruouſneſſe of it, I ſhould rather wander in it, it is ſo brode, than have anye readye paſſage to the ende of the matter: whoſe horribleneſſe is ſo large, that it paſſed the eloquence of our *Engliſhe Homer* to compaſſe it: yet becauſe I ever thoughte his ſayinges to have as much authoritye as eyther *Sophocles* or *Euripides* in *Greecke*, therefore gladlye do I remember theſe verſes of his.

Chaucer.

Haſardry is verye mother of leſinges,
And of deceyte, and curſed ſweringes.
Blaſphemye of Chriſt, mans ſlaughter, and waſte alſo!
Of catel, of tyme, of other thinges mo.

*Mother of * leſinges.*] True it maye be called ſo, if a man conſider how many wayes and how many thinges he loſeth thereby; for firſt, he loſeth his goodes, he loſeth his time, he loſeth quickneſſe of witte, and all good luſte to other thinges; he loſeth honeſt companye, he loſeth his good name and eſtimation, and at laſt, if he leave it not, loſeth God, and heaven and all: and, inſteede of theſe thinges, winneth at length eyther hanginge or hell.

* I doubt whether our authour has not miſtaken the ſenſe of *Chaucer*, I rather take *leſinges* to be *lies* than *loſſes*.

And

And of deceyte.] I trowe, if I ſhould not lye, there is not halfe ſo much crafte uſed in no one thinge in the world, as in this curſed thinge. What falſe dyſe uſe they? As dyſe ſtopped with quick ſilver and heares, dyſe of vauntage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge when they liſte, to let the true dyſe fall under the table, and ſo take up the falſe, and if they be true dyſe, what ſhift will they make to ſet the one of them with ſlydinge, with cogginge, with foyſtinge, with coytinge as they call it. How will they uſe theſe ſhiftes, when they get a plaine man that cannot ſkill of them? how will they go about, if they perceive an honeſt man have moneye, which liſt not playe, to provoke him to playe? They will ſeeke his companye, they will let him pay noughte, yea, and as I hearde a man ones ſaye that he did, they will ſende for him to ſome houſe, and ſpende perchaunce a crowne on him, and, at laſt, will one begin to ſaye: What my maſters, what ſhall we do? ſhall every man playe his twelve-pence whiles an apple roſte in the fyre, and then we will drincke and departe: Naye, will an other ſaye, (as falſe as he) you cannot leave when you begin, and therefore I will not playe: but if you will gage, that every man, as he hath loſt his twelve pence, ſhall ſit downe, I am contente, for ſurelye I would winne no mannes moneye here, but even as much as would paye for my ſupper. Then ſpeaketh the thirde, to the honeſte man that thoughte not to playe, What? will you playe your twelve-pence? If he excuſe him; Tuſh man, will the other ſaye, ſticke not in honeſte companye for twelve-pence; I will beare your halfe, and here is my moneye.

Nowe all this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a loſer, that he will not ſtick at his twelve-pence, but hopeth ever to get it againe, while perhappes he loſe all. Than everye one of them ſetteth his ſhiftes abroache, ſome with falſe dyſe, ſome with ſettling of dyſe, ſome with having outelandiſhe ſilver coynes guilded, to put awaye at a time for good golde. Than if there come a thinge in controverſye, muſt you be judged by the table, and than farewell the honeſt mans parte, for he is borne downe on every ſyde.

Nowe, Sir, beſyde all theſe thinges, they have certaine termes (as a man woulde ſaye) appropriate to theyr playinge: whereby they will drawe a mannes moneye, but paye none, which they call barres, that ſurelye

ſurelye he that knoweth them not maye ſoone be debarred of all that ever he hath, before he learne them. If a plaine man loſe, as he ſhall do ever, or els it is a wonder, then the game is ſo deviliſh, that
In Suppli. he can never leave: for vaine hope (which hope, ſayth *Euripides*, deſtroyeth manye a man and cittye) driveth him on ſo farre, that he can never return backe, until he be ſo light that he neede feare no theeves by the waye. Nowe if a ſimple man happen once in his life to winne of ſuch players, than will they eyther entreate him to keepe them companye whiles he hath loſt all againe, or els they will uſe the moſt deviliſhe faſhion of all, for one of the players that ſtandeth next him ſhall have a payre of falſe dyſe, and caſt them out upon the bourde, the honeſt man ſhall take them and caſt them as he did the other, the thirde ſhall eſpye them to be falſe dyſe, and ſhall crye oute harde, with all the othes under God, that he hath falſelye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is nothinge but houlde thy throte from my dagger; everye man layeth hande on the ſimple man, and taketh all theyr money from him, and his owne alſo, thinking himſelfe well, that he eſcapeth with his life.

Curſed ſwerynge blaſphemye of Chriſte.] Theſe halfe verſes *Chaucer*, in another place, more at large doth well ſet out, and very livelye expreſſe, ſayinge.

Ey by Goddes precious hart and his nayles,
And by the bloud of Chriſte, that is in Hales,
Seven is my chaunce, and thine is cinke and treye,
Ey Goddes armes, if thou falſelye playe,
This dagger ſhall thoroughe thine harte go,
This fruite commeth of the beched boones two,
Forſweringe, ire, falſeneſſe, and homicide, &c.

Thoughe theſe verſes be verye earneſtlye written, yet they do not halfe ſo griſelye ſet out the horibleneſſe of blaſphemye, which ſuch gammers uſe, as it is indeede, and as I have heard myſelfe. For no man can write a thinge ſo earneſtlye, as whan it is ſpoken with geſture, as learned men, you knowe, do ſaye. Howe will you thincke that ſuche furiouſneſſe, with woode countenaunce, and brenninge eyes, with ſtaringe and braggynge, with hart redye to leape out of the bellye for ſwellinge, can

can be expreſſed the tenthe part, to the uttermoſt. Two men I heard myſelfe, whoſe ſayinges be farre more griſelye, than *Chaucers* verſes. One, when he had loſte his moneye, ſware me God from top to the toe with one breathe, that he had loſt all his moneye for lacke of ſweringe: the other loſinge his moneye, and heapinge othes upon othes one in anothers necke, moſt horrible, and not ſpeakable, was rebuked of an honeſt man which ſtoode by for ſo doinge, he by and by, ſtaringe him in the face, and clappinge his fiſte, with all his moneye he had, upon the boarde, ſware me by the fleſhe of God, that, if ſweringe would helpe him but one ace, he would not leave one pece of God unſworne, neyther within nor without. The remembraunce of this blaſphemye, *Philologe*, doth make me quake at the hart, and therefore I will ſpeake no more of it.

And ſo to conclude with ſuch gaminge, I thincke there no ungratiouſneſſe in all this world, that carieth a man ſo farre from God, as this fault doth. And if there were anye ſo deſperate a perſon, that would begin his hell in earth, I trowe he ſhould not finde hell more like hell itſelfe, than the life of thoſe men is, which daily haunt and uſe ſuch ungratious games. PHI. You handle this gere indeede; and I ſuppoſe, if ye had bene a prentice at ſuch games, you could not have ſayd more of them than you have done, and by like you have had ſomewhat to do with them. TOX. Indede, you may honeſtlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I ſpeak againſt them: not that I have uſed them greatly, in that I ſpeake of them. For things be knowen divers wayes, as *Socrates* (you know) doth prove in *Alcibiades*. And if every man ſhould be that, that he ſpeaketh or wryteth upon, then ſhould *Homer* have bene the beſt captaine, moſt cowarde, hardye, haſtye, wyſe and woode, ſage and ſimple: and *Terence* an oulde man and a younge, an honeſt man and a bawde: with ſuch like. Surelye every man ought to praye to God dailye, to kepe them from ſuch unthriftineſſe, and ſpeciallye all the youth of *Englande:* for what youth doth begin, a man will folowe commonlye, even to his dying day: which thinge *Adraſtus*, in *Euripides*, pretelye doth expreſſe, ſayinge: Euripides in Suppli.

What thing a man in tender age hath moſt in ure,
That ſame to death alwayes to kepe he ſhall be ſure.

Therefore

Therefore in age who greatly longes good fruite to mowe,
In youth he muſt himſelfe applye good ſeede to ſowe.

For the foundation of youthe well ſet (as *Plato* doth ſaye) the whole bodye of the common wealthe ſhall flouriſhe thereafter. If the younge tree growe croked, when it is oulde a man ſhall rather breake it than ſtreight it. And I thincke there is no one thing that crokes youthe more then ſuch unlawful games. Nor let no man ſaye, if they be honeſtly uſed they do no harme. For how can that paſtime which neyther exerciſeth the bodye with any honeſt labour, nor yet the minde with any honeſt thinckinge, have any honeſtye joined with it? Nor let no man aſſure himſelfe that he can uſe it honeſtlye: for if he ſtand therein, he may fortune have a faule, the thinge is more ſlipperye than he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) ſit on a brante hill ſide, but if geve never ſo little forward, he cannot ſtoppe, though he would never ſo fayne, but he muſt needes runne head-long, he knoweth not how farre. What honeſt pretences vayne pleaſure layeth daily (as it were entiſementes or baytes, to pull men forwarde withall) *Homer* doth well ſhewe, by the *Sirenes* and *Circe*. And amonges all in that ſhippe, there was but one *Ulyſſes*, and yet he had done to as the other did, if a goddeſſe had not taughte him; and ſo likewiſe, I thincke, they be eaſye to nomber, which paſſe by playinge honeſtly, except the grace of God ſave and keep them. Therefore they that will not go to farre in playinge, let them folowe this counſell of the Poet:

Steppe the beginninges.

Phi. Well, or you go any further, I praye you tell me this one thinge: Doo ye ſpeake againſt meane mennes playinge onlye, or againſt greate mennes playinge to, or put you any difference betwixte them? Tox. If I ſhould excuſe myſelfe herein, and ſay that I ſpake of the one and not of the other, I fear leaſte I ſhoulde as fondlye excuſe myſelfe, as a certaine preacher did, whom I heard upon a time ſpeake againſt many abuſes, (as he ſayde) and, at laſt, he ſpake againſt candelles, and then, he fearinge, leaſt ſome men would have bene angrye and offended with him, Naye, ſayth he, you muſt take me as I meane: I ſpeake not againſt greate candelles, but againſt litle candelles, for they be not all one

one (quoth he) I promiſe you: and ſo everye man laughed him to ſcorne.

Indeede, as for great men, and great mennes matters, I liſt not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I would wiſhe, that all great men in *Englande* had redde over diligently the Pardoners Tale in *Chaucer*, and there they ſhoulde perceive and ſee, how muche ſuch games ſtande with their worſhippe, how great ſoever they be. What great men do, be it good or ill, meane men commonlye love to followe, as many learned men in many places do ſaye, and dailye experience doth plainlye ſhewe, in coſtlye apparell and other like matters.

Therefore, ſeinge that lordes be lanternes to lead the life of meane men, by their example, either to goodneſſe or badneſſe, to whether ſoever they liſte: and ſeinge alſo they have libertye to liſt what they will, I praye God they have will to liſt that which is good; and as for their playing, I will make an ende with this ſayinge of *Chaucer*.

Lordes might finde them other maner of playe,
Honeſt ynough to dreve the daye awaye.

But to be ſhort, the beſt medicine for all ſortes of men, both highe and lowe, younge and oulde, to put away ſuch unlawful games is by the contrarye, likewiſe as all *Phiſitions* do allowe in *Phiſicke*. So let youthe, inſtede of ſuch unlawful games, which ſtande by ydleneſſe, by ſolitarineſſe, and corners, by night and darkneſſe, by fortune and chaunce, by craft and ſubtiltye, uſe ſuch paſtimes as ſtand by labour: upon the day light, in open ſighte of men, havinge ſuch an ende as is come to by cunninge, rather than by craft: and ſo ſhould virtue encreaſe, and vice decaye. For contrarye paſtimes, muſt nedes worke contrarye mindes in men, as all other contrarye thinges do.

And thus we ſee, *Philologe*, that ſhootinge is not onlye the moſt holeſome exerciſe for the bodye, the moſt honeſt paſtime for the minde, and that for all ſortes of men: but alſo it is a moſt redye medycine, to purge the whole realme of ſuch peſtilent gaminge, wherewith manye times it is ſore troubled, and ill at eaſe.

Phi. The more honeſtye you have proved by ſhootinge, *Toxophile*, and the more you have perſuaded me to love it, ſo much trulye the ſoryer have you made me with this laſte ſentence of yours, whereby you plainly prove that a man may not greatly uſe it. For if ſhootinge be a medicine (as you ſaye that it is) it may not be uſed very oft, leſt a man ſhould hurte himſelfe withall, as medycines much occupyed doo. For *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſayth, that medycines be not meate to live withall: and thus ſhootinge, by the ſame reaſon, maye not be much occupyed. Tox. You playe your olde wontes, *Philologe*, in dalyinge with other mennes wittes, not ſo much to prove your owne matter, as to prove what other men can ſaye. But where you thincke that I take away much uſe of ſhootinge, in lykening it to a medycine: becauſe men uſe not medycines everye daye, for ſo ſhould theyr bodyes be hurte: I rather prove daily uſe of ſhootinge thereby. For although *Ariſtotle* ſayth that ſome medycines be no meate to live withal, which is true: yet *Hippocrates* ſayth our dailye meates be medycines, to withſtand evill withal, which is as true, for he maketh two kindes of medycines, one our meate that we uſe dailye, which purgeth ſoftlye and ſlowlye, and in this ſimilitude maye ſhooting be called a medycine, wherewith dailye a man maye purge and take away all unlawful deſires to other unlawful paſtimes, as I proved before. The other is a quicke purginge medycine, and ſeldomer to be occupyed, except the matter be greater, and I could deſcribe the nature of a quicke medycine, which ſhould within a while purge and plucke out all the unthriftye games in the realme, through which the common wealthe oftentimes is ſicke. For not onlye good quicke wittes to learninge be thereby broughte oute of frame, and quite marred, but alſo manly wittes, eyther to attempt matters of high courage in warre time, or elſe to atchieve matters of weight and wyſdome in peace time, be made thereby very quaſye and faynte. For loke through all hiſtories written in *Greeke*, *Latine*, or other language, and you ſhall never finde that realme proſper in the whiche ſuch ydle paſtimes are uſed. As concerninge the medycine, althoughe ſome would be miſcontent, if they heard me meddle anye thinge with it: yet, betwixt you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer ſaye my fantaſye, and the rather becauſe I will onlye wiſh for it, which ſtandeth with honeſty, not determine of it, which belongeth to authoritye. The medycine is this, that would to God and the Prince,

Hippoc. de med. purg.

all

all theſe unthriftye ydle paſtimes, which be very bugges that the *Pſalme* meaneth on, walking on the night and in corners, were made felonye, and ſome of that puniſhment ordayned for them, which is appointed for the forgers and falſifyers of the King's coyne. Which puniſhment is not by me now invented, but long ago, by the moſte noble oratour *Demoſthenes*, which marveileth greatlye that death is appointed for falſifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate puniſhmente ordayned for them, which by their meanes forges and falſifyes the common wealth. And I ſuppoſe that there is no one thinge that changeth ſoner the golden ſilver wittes of men into copperye and braſſye wayes, then dyſinge and ſuch unlawfull paſtimes.

Pſalme 90.

Demoſt. contra Leptinem.

And this quicke medycine, I believe, woulde ſo throwlye purge them, that the daily medycines, as ſhootinge and other paſtimes joyned with honeſt labour, ſhoulde eaſelyer withſtand them. Phi. The excellent commodities of ſhootinge in peace time, *Toxophile*, you have verye well and ſufficiently declared. Whereby you have ſo perſuaded me, that, God willinge, hereafter I will both love it the better, and alſo uſe it the ofter. For as much as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tongue, the noſe, the handes, and the feete, be no fitter members, or inſtrumentes for the bodye of a man, than is ſhootinge for the hole body of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be beſt and moſt neceſſarye, to ſerve, not for one purpoſe onlye, but for manye: as the tongue for ſpeakinge and taſtinge, the noſe for ſmellinge, and alſo for avoydinge all execrementes, which faule out of the head, the handes for receiving of good thinges, and for puttinge of all harmfull thinges from the bodye. So ſhootinge is an exerciſe of healthe, a paſtime of honeſte pleaſure, and ſuch one alſo that ſtoppeth and avoydeth all noyſome games, gathered and encreaſed by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, which hurt and corrupte ſore that parte of the realme, wherein they do remayne. But nowe if you can ſhewe but halfe ſo muche profite in warre of ſhootinge, as you have proved pleaſure in peace, then will I ſurelye judge that there be fewe thinges that have ſo manifolde commodities and uſes joyned unto them as it hath.

Tox. The upper hand in warre, next the goodneſſe of God, (of whom all victory commeth, as Scripture ſayth) ſtandeth chieflye in three thinges: in the wiſedome of the Prince, in the ſleightes and pollicies of the captaynes,

Mach. 5. 3.

taynes, and in the ſtrengthe and cherefull forwardneſſe of the ſouldiours. A Prince in his harte muſte be full of mercye and peace, a vertue moſt pleaſaunt to Chriſt, moſt agreeable to mans nature, moſt profitable for riche and poore; for then the riche man enjoyeth with great pleaſure the which he hath: the poore may obtaine with his labour, that which he lacketh. And althoughe there is nothinge worſe then * warre, whereof it taketh his name, throughe the which great men be in daunger, meane men without ſuccour; riche men in feare, becauſe they have ſomewhat; poore men in care, becauſe they have nothinge; and every man in doubt and miſerye: yet it is a civill medycine, wherewith a Prince may, from the bodye of his common wealthe, put off that danger which may faule: or els recover againe, whatſoever it hath loſte. And therefore, as *Iſocrates* doth ſaye, a Prince muſt be a warriour in two thinges, in cunninge and knowledge of all ſleightes and feates of warre, and in havinge all neceſſary habilimentes belonginge to the ſame. Which matter to entreate at large, were over longe at this time to declare, and over much for my learninge to perfourme.

After the wiſedome of the Prince, are valiant captaines moſt neceſſarye in warre, whoſe office and dutye is to knowe all ſleightes and pollicies for all kindes of warre, which they may learne two wayes, eyther in dailye folowinge and hauntinge the warres, or els, becauſe wyſedome boughte with ſtripes is manye times over coſtlye, they may beſtow ſome time in *Vegetius*, which entreateth ſuch matters in *Latine* metelye well, or rather in *Polyenus*, and *Leo* the Emperour, which ſetteth oute all pollicies and duties of captaines in the *Greeke* tongue verye excellentlye. But chieflye I would wiſhe, and (if I were of authoritye) I woulde counſell all the younge gentlemen of this realme, never to laye out of their hands two authors, *Zenophon* in *Greeke*, and *Cæſar* in *Latine*, wherein they ſhould folow noble *Scipio Africanus*, as *Tullie* doth ſay: in which two authors, beſydes eloquence, a thinge moſt neceſſarye of all other for a captaine, they ſhould learne the hole courſe of warre, which thoſe two noble men did not more wiſelye write for other men to learne, than they did manfully exerciſe in the field, for other men to folowe.

De Sen.

* *War* is an old word, ſtill uſed in ſome counties for *worſe*, and *Aſcham* ſuppoſes that *war* or hoſtility is ſo named becauſe it is *war* or *worſe* than peace.

The

The ſtrengthe of warre lyeth in the ſouldiour, whoſe chiefe prayſe and vertue is obedience towarde his captaine, ſayth *Plato*. And *Zenophon*, being a gentyle author, moſt chriſtianlye doth ſaye, even by theſe wordes, that that ſouldiour which firſt ſerveth God, and then obeyeth his captaine, maye boldlye, with all courage, hope to overthrowe his enemye. Againe, without obedience, neyther valiant man, ſtout horſe, nor goodly harneſſe, doth any good at all: which obedience of the ſouldiour toward the captaine, brought the hole empyre of the world into the *Romaynes* handes, and, when it was brought, kept it longer than ever it was kept in any common wealth before or after. And this to be true, *Scipio Africanus*, the moſt noble captain that ever was among the *Romaynes*, ſhewed very plainly, what time as he went into *Africke* to deſtroy *Carthage*. For he reſting his hoaſt by the way in *Sicilie*, a day or two, and at a time ſtandinge with a great man of *Sicilie*, and lokinge on his ſoldiours how they exerciſed themſelves in kepinge of arraye, and other feates, the gentleman of *Sicilie* aſked *Scipio*, wherein laye his chief hope to overcome *Carthage?* He aunſwered, In yonder fellowes of myne whom you ſee playe: And why? ſayth the other; Becauſe, ſayth *Scipio*, that, if I commanded them to runne into the top of this high caſtle, and caſt themſelves downe backward upon theſe rockes, I am ſure they would do it. *Saluſt* alſo doth write, that there were mo *Romaynes* put to death of their captaynes for ſettinge on their enemyes before they had licence, than were for runninge away out of the field, before they had foughten. Theſe two examples do prove, that amonges the *Romaynes*, the obedience of the ſouldiours was wonderfull greate, and the ſeveritye of the captaynes, to ſee the ſame kept, wonderfull ſtrayte. For they well perceived that an hoaſt full of obedience, falleth as ſeldome into the handes of their enemyes, as that body falleth into jeopardye, the which is ruled by reaſon. Reaſon and rulers being like in office, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the body of the common wealthe) oughte to be like of conditions, and oughte to be obeyed in all maner of matters. Obedience is nouriſhed by feare and love, feare is kept in by true juſtyce and equitye, love is gotten by wyſedome, joyned by liberalitye. For where a ſouldiour ſeeth righteouſneſſe ſo rule, that a man can do neyther wronge, nor yet take wronge, and that his captaine for his wyſedome can maintaine him, and for his liberalitye will maintaine him, he muſt needes both love him and feare him, of the which procedeth

Obedience. Plat. leg. 12. Zen. Ageſ. Zen. Hipp. Plutarchus. Sal. in Cat.

procedeth true and unfayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the next good point in a ſouldiour is to have and to handle his weapon well, whereof the one muſt be at the appointment of the captaine, the other lyeth in the courage and exerciſe of the ſouldiour. Yet of all wea-
In Herc. fur. pons, the beſt is, as *Euripides* doth ſaye, wherewith what leaſt daunger of ourſelfe we may hurte our enemye moſt. And that is (as I ſuppoſe) artillerie. Artillerie, now a dayes, is taken for two thinges: gunnes and bowes, which, how much they do in warre, both daily experience doth teache, and alſo *Peter Nannius*, a learned man of *Louayn*, in a certaine dialogue doth very well ſet oute, wherein this is moſt notable, that when he hath ſhewed excedinge commodities of both, and ſome diſcommodities of gunnes, as infinite coſt and charge, comberſome carriage, and, if they be greate, the uncertaine levelinge, the perill of them that ſtand by them, the eaſyer avoidinge by them that ſtande farre of: and, if they be litle, the leſſe both fear and jeoperdye is in them, beſyde all contrarye wether and winde, which hindereth them not a litle; yet of all ſhootinge he cannot reherſe one diſcommoditye.

Phi. That I marveile greatly at, ſeinge *Nannius* is ſo well learned, and ſo exerciſed in the authors of both the tongues: for I myſelfe do remember, that ſhootinge in warre is but ſmallye prayſed, and that of divers captaines in divers authors. For firſt in *Euripides*, whom you ſo highlye prayſe (and verye well, for *Tullye* thinketh everye verſe in him to be an authoritye) what, I praye you, doth *Lycus*, that overcame *Thebes*, ſaye as concerninge ſhootinge? whoſe wordes, as farre as I remember, be theſe, or not much unlike.

Eurip. in Herc. furent.

What prayſe hath he at all, which never dürſt abyde,
The dint of a ſpeares point thruſt againſt his ſyde.
Nor never bouldly buckeler bare yet in his left hande,
Face to face his enemies bront ſtiffelye to withſtande,
But alwaye truſteth to a bowe, and to a feathered ſticke,
Harneſſe ever moſt fit for him whiche to flie is quicke,
Bowe and ſhaft is armoure meteſt for a cowarde
Which dare not ones abide the bront of battaile ſharpe and harde.
But he a man of manhode moſt is mine aſſent,
Which, with hart and courage bould, fullie hath him bent,
His enemies loke in everye ſtoure ſtoutelie to abide,
Face to face, and foote to foote, tide what maye betide.

Againe, *Teucer*, the beſt archer amonge all the *Grecians*, in *Sophocles* is called of *Menelaus* a bowe-man, and a ſhooter, as in villianye and reproach, to be a thinge of no price in warre. Moreover, *Pandarus*, the beſt ſhooter in the worlde, whom *Apollo* himſelfe taughte to ſhoote, both he and his ſhootinge is quite contemned in *Homer*, in ſo much that *Homer* (which under a made fable doth alwayes hide his judgment of thinges) doth make *Pandarus* himſelfe crye out of ſhooting, and caſt his bowe away, and take him to a ſpeare, makinge a vow, that if ever he came home, he would breake his ſhaftes, and burne his bowe, lamentinge greatlye, that he was ſo fonde to leave at home his horſe and chariot, with other weapons, for the truſt that he had in his bow. *Homer* ſignifying thereby, that men ſhould leave ſhootinge out of warre, and take them to other weapons more fitte and able for the ſame, and I trowe *Pandarus* wordes be much what after this fort.

Sophoc. in Sia. Flag.

Iliad 5.

If chaunce ill lucke me hyther brought,
Ill fortune me that day befell,
When firſt my bowe from the pynne I raughte,
For Hectors ſake, the Greekes to quell.
But if that God ſo for me ſhape
That home againe I maye ones come,
Let me never enjoye that hap,
Nor ever twiſe looke on the ſonne,
If bowe and ſhaftes I do not burne,
Which now ſo evill doth ſerve my turne.

But to let paſſe all poetes, what can be ſorer ſayd againſt any thinge, than the judgement of *Cyrus* is againſt ſhootinge, which doth cauſe his *Perſians*, being the beſt ſhooters, to lay away their bowes, and take them to ſwordes and buckelers, ſpeares and dartes, and other like hande weapons. The which thinge *Zenophon*, ſo wyſe a philoſopher, ſo expert a captaine in warre himſelfe, would never have written, and ſpeciallye in that booke wherein he purpoſed to ſhewe, as *Tullye* ſayth indeede, not the true hiſtorye, but the example of a perfite wyſe Prince and common wealth, excepte that judgement of chaunging artillery into other weapons he had alwayes thought beſt to be folowed in all warre. Whoſe counſayle the *Parthians* did folowe, when they chaſed *Antonye* over the mountaynes of *Media*, which beinge the beſt ſhooters of

Zen. Cyr. Inſt. 6.

Epiſt. 1. ad Q. Fra.

Plutarch. M. Ant.

of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to ſpeares and moriſpikes. And theſe fewe examples, I trowe, of the beſte ſhooters, do well prove that the beſt ſhootinge is not the beſt thing, as you call it, in warre. Tox. As concerninge your firſt example, taken out of *Euripides*, I marveile you will bringe it for the diſprayſe of ſhootinge, ſeeinge *Euripides* doth make thoſe verſes, not becauſe he thinketh them true, but becauſe he thinketh them fit for the perſon that ſpake them. For indede his true judgement of ſhootinge, he doth expreſſe by and by after in the oration of the noble Captaine *Amphytrio* againſt *Lycus*, wherein a man maye doubte, whether he hath more eloquentlye confuted *Lycus* ſayinge, or more worthilye ſet oute the prayſe of ſhootinge. And as I am adviſed, his wordes be much hereafter as I ſhall ſaye.

Eurip. in Herc. fur.

Againſt the wittie gift of ſhootinge in a bowe,
Fonde and leude wordes thou leudlie doeſt out throwe,
Which if thou wilte heare of me a worde or twayne
Quicklie thou mayſt learne how fondlie thou doeſt blame.
Firſt he that with his harneis himſelfe doth wall about,
That ſcarce is left one hole through which he may pepe out.
Such bond men to their harneis to fight are nothinge mete,
But ſoneſt of all other are troden under fete.
If he be ſtronge, his felowes faint, in whom he putteth his truſt,
So loded with his harneis he muſt nedes lie in the duſt,
Nor yet from death he cannot ſtart, if ones his weapon breke,
Howe ſtout, howe ſtronge, howe great, howe longe, ſo ever be ſuch a freke.
But whoſoever can handle a bowe, ſturdie, ſtiffe, and ſtronge,
Wherewith like hayle manie ſhaftes he ſhootes into the thickeſt thronge:
This profite he takes, that ſtandinge a farre his enemies he may ſpill,
When he and his full ſafe ſhall ſtande, out of all daunger and ill.
And this in warre is wyſedome moſt, which workes our enemies woo,
When we ſhall be far from all feare and jeoperdie of our foo.

Secondarily, even as I do not greatly regarde what *Menelaus* doth ſaye in *Sophocles* to *Teucer*, becauſe he ſpake it both in anger, and alſo to him that he hated; even ſo do I remember very well in *Homer*, that when *Hector* and the *Troyans* would have ſet fyre on the *Greeke* ſhips,

Teucer,

Teucer, with his bowe, made them recule back againe, when *Menelaus* toke him to his feete, and ranne awaye.

Thirdlye, as concerninge *Pandarus*, *Homer* doth not diſprayſe the noble gift of ſhootinge, but thereby everye man is taughte, that whatſoever, and howe good ſoever a weapon a man doth uſe in warre, if he be himſelfe a covetous wretche, a foole without counſaile, a peace breaker, as *Pandarus* was, at laſt he ſhall, throughe the puniſhment of God, faule into his enemies bandes, as *Pandarus* did, whom *Diomedes*, throughe the helpe of *Minerva*, miſerablye ſlue. Hom. Il. 5.

And, becauſe you make mention of *Homer*, and *Troye* matters, what can be more prayſe for any thinge, I praye you, than that is for ſhootinge, that *Troye* could never be deſtroyed without the help of *Hercules* ſhaftes, which thing doth ſignifye, that, although all the world were gathered in an armye together, yet, without ſhootinge, they can never come to their purpoſe, as *Ulyſſes*, in *Sophocles*, very plainlye doth ſaye unto *Pyrrhus*, as concerning *Hercules* ſhaftes to be carried into *Troye*.

Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought. Soph. Phil.

Fourthlye, whereas *Cyrus* did chaunge part of his bowmen, whereof he had plenty, in other men of warre, whereof he lacked, I will not greatlye diſpute whether *Cyrus* did well in that pointe in thoſe dayes or no, becauſe it is plaine in *Zenophon* howe ſtronge ſhooters the *Perſians* were, what bowes they had, what ſhaftes and heades they occupyed, what kind of warre theyr enemyes uſed. Zen. Cyri, Inſtit. 6.

But trulye, as for the *Parthians*, it is plaine in *Plutarche*, that, in chaunginge theyr bowes into ſpeares, they broughte theyr ſelfe into utter deſtruction. For when they had chaſed the *Romaynes* many a myle, throughe reaſon of their bowes, at the laſt the *Romaynes*, aſhamed of theyr flyinge, and remembringe theyr olde nobleneſſe and courage, imagined this way, that they would kneele down on theyr knees, and ſo cover all theyr body with theyr ſhieldes and targettes, that the *Parthians* ſhaftes might ſlide over them, and do them no harme; which thing when the *Parthians* perceyved, thinkinge that the *Romaynes* were forweryed with laboure, watche, and hunger, they layed downe theyr Plut. in M. Anton.

bowes, and toke ſperes in theyr handes, and ſo ranne upon them; but the *Romaynes* perceyvinge them without theyr bowes, roſe up manfullye, and ſlue them every mothers ſonne, ſave a fewe that ſaved themſelves with runninge awaye. And herein our archers of *Englande* farre paſſe the *Parthians*, which for ſuch a purpoſe, when they ſhall come to hand ſtrokes, hath ever redye, eyther at his back hanginge, or els in his next felowes hand, a leaden maule, or ſuch like weapon, to beat downe his enemies withall. PHI. Well, *Toxophile*, ſeeinge that thoſe examples, which I had thought to have been cleane againſt ſhootinge, you have thus turned to the high prayſe of ſhootinge: and all this prayſe that you have nowe ſayde on it, is rather come in by me than ſought for of you: let me heare, I praye you now, thoſe examples which you have marked of ſhootinge yourſelfe: whereby you are perſuaded, and thincke to perſwade other, that ſhootinge is ſo good in warre. TOX. Examples ſurely I have marked very manye; from the beginninge of time had in memorye of writinge, throughout all common wealthes and empyres of the worlde: whereof the moſt parte I will paſſe over, leſt I ſhould be tedious: yet ſome I will touche, becauſe they be notable, both for me to tell and you to heare.

And becauſe the ſtorye of the *Jewes* is for the time moſt auncient, for the truthe moſt credible, it ſhall be moſt fitte to begin with them. And althoughe I know that God is the onelye giver of victorye, and
Mach. 1. 3. not the weapons, for all ſtrengthe and victorye (ſayth *Judas Machabeus)* commeth from heaven: yet ſurelye ſtrong weapons be the inſtrumentes wherewith God doth overcome that parte, which he will have overthrown. For God is well pleaſed with wyſe and witty feates of warre: as in meting of enemyes for truſe takinge, to have privilye in * a buſhmente harneſt men layed for feare of treaſon, as *Judas Machabeus* did
Mach. 2. 14. with *Nicanor*, *Demetrius* captaine. And to have engines of warre to beat down cities withal: and to have ſcout watch amonges our enemyes to know theyr counſayles, as the noble captaine *Jonathan*, brother to
Mach. 1. 12. *Judas Machabeus*, did in the countrye of *Amathie*, againſt the mightye hoaſt of *Demetrius*. And, beſide all this, God is pleaſed to have goodlye tombes for them which do noble feates in warre, and to have theyr images made, and alſo theyr cote armours to be ſet above theyr tombes,

* *A buſhment.*] This word I do not remember elſewhere: perhaps it ſhould be in *ambuſhment.*

to theyr perpetual laude and memorye! As the valiante captaine *Symon* did cauſe to be made for his brethren *Judas Machabeus* and *Jonathan*, when they were ſlaine of the *Gentiles*. And thus, of what authoritye feates of warre, and ſtronge weapons be, ſhortlye and plainlye we may learne. But amonges the *Jewes*, as I begin to tell, I am ſure there was nothinge ſo occupyed, or did ſo much good as bowes did; in ſo much, that when the *Jewes* had any great upper-hand over the *Gentiles*, the firſt thinge alwayes that the captaine did, was to exhorte the people to geve all the thankes to God for the victorye, and not to theyr bowes, wherewith they had ſlaine theyr enemies: as it is plaine the noble *Joſue* did after ſo manye kinges thruſt downe by him. Mach 1. 13. Joſ. 13.

God, when he promiſeth helpe to the *Jewes*, he uſeth no kind of ſpeakinge ſo much as this, that he will bende his bowe, and die his ſhaftes in the *Gentiles* bloud: whereby it is manifeſt, that eyther God will make the *Jewes* ſhoote ſtronge ſhootes to overthrowe theyr enemyes, or, at leaſt, that ſhootinge is a wonderfull mighty thinge in warre, whereunto the high power of God is likened. *David*, in the *Pſalmes*, calleth bowes the veſſels of death, a bitter thinge, and, in an other place, a mightye power, and other wayes mo, which I will let paſſe, becauſe every man readeth them dailye: but yet one place of Scripture I muſt needes remember, which is more notable for the prayſe of ſhootinge, than any that ever I redde in any other ſtorye, and that is, when *Saule* was ſlaine by the *Philiſtines*, beinge mightye bowmen, and *Jonathan* his ſonne with him, that was ſo good a ſhooter, as the Scripture ſayth, that he never ſhote ſhafte in vaine, and that the kingdome, after *Saules* death, came unto *David:* the firſt ſtatute and lawe that ever *David* made after he was Kinge, was this, that all the children of *Iſraell* ſhould learne to ſhoote, according to a lawe made many a daye before that time, for the ſetting out of ſhootinge, as it is written (ſayth Scripture) in *Libro Juſtorum*, which booke we have not nowe. And thus we ſee plainly what great uſe of ſhootinge, and what proviſion even from the beginninge of the worlde for ſhootinge was amonge the *Jewes*. Deut. 32. Pſal. 7. 63. 75. Regum 1. 31. Regum 2. 1.

The *Ethiopians* which inhabite the furtheſt parte South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: inſomuch that when *Cambyſes* King of *Perſie*, being in *Egypt*, ſent certaine embaſſadours into *Ethiope* to the King

Herodotus in Thalia. there, with manye great giftes: the King of *Ethiope*, perceyvinge them to be eſpyes, toke them uppe ſharpelye, and blamed *Cambyſes* greatly for ſuch unjuſt enterpriſes: but after that he had princelye entertayned them, he ſent for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then unbent it againe, and ſayd unto the embaſſadours, you ſhall commende me to *Cambyſes*, and geve him this bowe from me, and bidde him when any *Perſian* can ſhoote in this bowe, let him ſet upon the *Ethiopians*: in the mean while let him geve thanckes unto God, which doth not put in the *Ethiopians* mindes to conquere any other mans lande.

This bowe, when it came amonge the *Perſians*, never one man in ſuch an infinite hoaſt (as *Herodotus* doth ſaye) could ſtyre the ſtringe, ſave only *Smerdis*, the brother of *Cambyſes*, which ſtyred it two fingers, and no further: for the which acte *Cambyſes* had ſuch envye at him, that he afterwarde ſlue him: as doth appeare in the ſtorye.

Seſoſtris, the moſt mightye Kinge that ever was in *Egypte*, overcame a great part of the world, and that by archers: he ſubdued the *Arabians*, the *Jewes*, the *Aſſyrians*: he went farther in *Scythia* than anye man els: he overcame *Thracia*, even to the borders of *Germanye*. And, in token how he overcame all men, he ſet uppe in manye places great images to his owne likeneſſe, havinge in one hand a bowe, in the other a ſharpe headed ſhafte: that men might knowe what weapon his hoaſt uſed, in conqueringe ſo manye people.

Herod. in Enterpe. Died. Sic. 2.

Cyrus, counted a God amonge the *Gentiles*, for his nobleneſſe and felicitye in warre: yet, at the laſt, when he ſet upon the *Maſſagetes*, (which people never went without theyr bowe nor theyr quiver, neyther in warre nor peace) he and all his were ſlaine, and that by ſhootinge, as appeareth in the ſtorye.

Herod. in Clio.

Herod. in Thal. *Polycrates*, the Prince of *Samos*, (a very litle iſle) was lord over all the *Greeke* ſeas, and withſtode the power of the *Perſians*, only by the helpe of a thouſande archers.

The people of *Scythia*, of all other men, loved and uſed moſt ſhootinge; the hole riches and houſholde ſtuffe of a man in *Scythia* was

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a yoake of oxen, a ploughe, his nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his quiver: which quiver was covered with the ſkin of a man, which he toke or ſlue firſt in battaile. The *Scythians* to be invincible, by reaſon of theyr ſhootinge, the great voyages of ſo manye conquerours ſpente in that countrye in vaine, doth well prove: but ſpeciallye that of *Darius* the mightye King of *Perſia*, which, when he had tarryed there a great ſpace, and done no good, but had forwearyed his hoaſt with travaile and hunger; at laſt the men of *Scythia* ſent an embaſſadour with four giftes, a byrde, a frogge, a mouſe and five ſhaftes. *Darius* marveylinge at the ſtraungeneſſe of the giftes, aſked the meſſenger what they ſignified: the meſſenger aunſwered, that he had no further commandment, but only to deliver his giftes, and returne againe with all ſpede: But I am ſure (ſayth he) you *Perſians* for your great wyſedome can ſoone boult out what they meane. When the meſſenger was gone, every man began to ſay his verdite. *Darius* judgemente was this, that the *Scythians* gave over into the *Perſians* handes theyr lives, theyr hole power, both by lande and ſea, ſignifyinge by the mouſe the earth, by the frogge the water, in which they both live, by the byrde theyr lives, which live in the ayre, by the ſhaft theyr hole power and empyre, that was maintayned always by ſhootinge. *Gobryas*, a noble and wyſe captaine amonges the*Perſians*, was of a clean contrarye minde, ſayinge, Naye, not ſo, but the *Scythians* meane thus by theyr giftes, that except we gette us winges, and flye into the ayre like byrdes, or runne into the holes of the earth like myſe, or els lye lurkinge in fennes and mariſhes, like frogges, we ſhall never returne home againe, before we be utterlye undone with theyr ſhaftes: which ſentence ſanke ſo ſore into theyr hartes, that *Darius*, with all ſpeede poſſible, brake uppe his campe and gat himſelfe homewarde. Yet how much the *Perſians* themſelves ſette by ſhootinge, whereby they encreaſed their empyre ſo much, doth appear by three manifeſt reaſons: firſt that they brought uppe theyr youth in the ſchole of ſhootinge unto twentye years of age, as divers noble *Greeke* authours do ſaye. Herod. in Mlpom. Herod. in Clio.

Againe, becauſe the noble Kinge *Darius* thought himſelfe to be prayſed by nothinge ſo much as to be counted a good ſhooter, as doth appear by his ſepulchre, wherein he cauſed to be written this ſentence: Zen. in Cyr. Strab. 11.

Darius

Strab. 15.

Darius the King lyeth buried here,
That in ſhootinge and rydinge had never pere.

Plutarch in Angeſila.

Thirdlye, the coyne of the *Perſians*, both golde and ſilver, had the armes of *Perſia* upon it, as is cuſtomably uſed in other realmes, and that was bowe and arrowes: by the which feate they declared how much they ſet by them.

Suidas.

The *Grecians* alſo, but ſpeciallye the noble *Athenienſes*, had all theyr ſtrengthe lyinge in artillerie: and, for that purpoſe, the citye of *Athens* had a thouſand men, which were only archers, in dailye wages, to watch and kepe the citye from all jeopardy and ſodaine daunger: which archers alſo ſhould carye to priſon and warde anye miſdoer, at the commaundment of the highe officers, as plainlye doth appeare in *Plato*. And ſurelye the bowmen of *Athens* did wonderfull feates in many battels, but ſpeciallye when *Demoſthenes*, the valiant captaine, ſlue and toke priſoners all the *Lacedemonians*, beſyde the citye of *Pylos*, where *Neſtor* ſome time was lorde: the ſhaftes went ſo thicke that day, (ſayth *Thucidydes)* that no man could ſee theyr enemyes. A *Lacedemonian*, taken priſoner, was aſked of one at *Athens*, whether they were ſtoute fellowes that were ſlaine or no, of the *Lacedemonians?* He anſwered nothinge els but this: Make much of thoſe ſhaftes of youres, for they know neyther ſtoute nor unſtoute: meaninge thereby that no man (though he were never ſo ſtoute) came in theyr walke that eſcaped without death.

Plato in Protagora.

Thucydid. 4.

Herod. in Polym.

Herodotus deſcrybinge the mightye hoaſt of *Xerxes*, eſpeciallye doth marke oute, what bowes and ſhaftes they uſed, ſignifyinge that therein laye theyr chiefe ſtrengthe. And at the ſame time *Atoſſa*, mother of *Xerxes*, wyfe to *Darius*, and daughter of *Cyrus*, doth enquire (as *Aeſchylus* ſheweth in a tragedye) of a certaine meſſenger that came from *Xerxes* hoaſt, what ſtronge and fearfull bowes the *Grecians* uſed: whereby it is playne, that artillerye was the thinge, wherein both *Europe* and *Aſia* in thoſe days truſted moſt upon.

Æſch. in Perſ.

The beſt part of *Alexanders* hoaſt were archers, as plainlye doth appeare by *Arrianus*, and other that wrote his life: and thoſe ſo ſtrong archers, that they onlye, ſundry times overcame theyr enemyes afore any

any other needed to fighte: as was ſeene in the battaile which *Nearchus*, one of *Alexanders* captaines, had beſyde the ryver *Thomeron*. And therefore, as concerninge all theſe kingdomes and common wealthes, I maye conclude with this ſentence of *Plinye*, whoſe wordes be, as I ſuppoſe, thus: "If anye man would remember the *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, "*Arabians*, the men of *Inde*, of *Scythia*, ſo many people in the Eaſte "of the *Sarmatianes*, and all the kingdomes of the *Parthians*, he ſhall "perceive halfe the parte of the worlde to live in ſubjection, over-"come by the mighte and power of ſhootinge." Plin. lib. 16. cap. 36.

In the common wealth of *Rome*, which exceeded all other in vertue, nobleneſſe and dominion, little mention is made of ſhootinge, not becauſe it was little uſed amonges them, but rather becauſe it was ſo neceſſarye and common, that it was thought a thinge not neceſſarye or required of anye man to be ſpoken upon; as if a man ſhould deſcrybe a great feaſt, he would not ones name breade, althoughe it be moſt common and neceſſarye of all: but ſurelye, if a feaſt, being never ſo great, lacked breade, or had fewſtye and noughtye breade, all the other daintyes ſhould be unſaverye, and litle regarded, and then would men talke of the commoditye of bread, when they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, when they had it: and even ſo did the *Romaynes*, as concerninge ſhootinge. Seldome is ſhootinge named, and yet it did the moſt good in warre, as did appeare verye plainlye in that battaile, which *Scipio Africanus* had with the *Numantines* in *Spaine*, whom he could never overcome, before he ſet bowemen amonges his horſemen, by whoſe might they were cleane vanquiſhed.

Againe, *Tiberius*, fightinge with *Armenius* and *Inquiomerus*, Princes of *Germayne*, had one winge of archers on horſebacke, an other of archers on foote, by whoſe might the *Germaynes* were ſlaine downright, and ſo ſcattered and beate out of the fielde, that the chaſe laſted ten miles; the *Germaynes* clame up into trees for feare, but the *Romaynes* did fetche them downe with theyr ſhaftes, as they had been birdes, in which battaile the *Romaynes* loſt few or none, as doth appeare in the hiſtorye. Cor. Tac. 2.

But as I beganne to ſaye, the *Romaynes* did not ſo much prayſe the goodneſſe of ſhootinge, when they had it, as they did lament the lacke

of

of it, when they wanted it, as *Leo* the V. the noble Emperour, dothe plainly teſtifye in ſundrye places in thoſe bookes which he wrote in *Greeke, of the ſleightes and pollicies of warre.* PHI. Surelye of that booke I have not heard before, and how came you to the ſight of it? TOX. The booke is rare trulye, but this laſt yeare, when Maiſter *Cheke* tranſlated the ſayde booke oute of *Greeke* into *Latine*, to the Kings Majeſtye, *Henrye* the Eyght, of noble memorye, he, of his gentleneſſe, would have me verye oft in his chamber, and, for the familiaritye that I had with him, more than manye other, would ſuffer me to reade of it, when I would, the which thinge to do, ſurelye I was verye deſirous and glad, becauſe of the excellent handelinge of all thinges, that ever he taketh in hande. And verilye, *Philologe*, as oft as I remember the departinge of that man from the *Univerſitye*, (which thinge I do not ſeldome) ſo ofte do I well perceive our moſt helpe and furtheraunce to learninge, to have gone away with him. For, by the great commoditye that we toke in hearinge him reade privately in his chamber, all *Homer*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Zenophon*, *Iſocrates*, and *Plato*, we feele the great diſcommodity in not hearinge of him, *Ariſtotle* and *Demoſthenes*, which two authours, with all diligence, laſt of all, he thought to have redde unto us. And when I conſider howe manye men be ſuccoured with his helpe, and his ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were provoked and ſtyrred up, by his counſayle and dailye example, howe they ſhould come to learninge, ſurelye I perceive that ſentence of *Plato* to be true, which ſayeth: "that "there is nothinge better in anye common wealthe, than that there "ſhould be alwayes one or other excellent paſſinge man, whoſe life "and vertue ſhoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure, and "hope of all other, that, folowinge his foot-ſteppes, they might come "to the ſame ende, whereunto labour, learninge, and vertue, had con-"veyed him before."

Sir John Cheke.

The great hinderaunce of learninge, in lackinge this man, greatly I ſhould lament, if this diſcommoditye of ours were not joyned with the commoditye and wealth of the whole realme, for which purpoſe our noble Kinge, full of wyſedome, called uppe this excellent man, full of learninge, to teache noble Prince *Edwarde*, an office full of hope, comforte, and ſolace, to all true hartes of *Englande*: for whom all *Englande* dailye doth praye, that he, paſſing his tutour in learninge and know-

ledge,

ledge, followinge his father in wyſedome and felicitye, accordinge to that example which is ſet afore his eyes, maye ſo ſet oute and maintayne Gods word, to the aboliſhment of all papiſtry, the confuſion of all hereſye, that thereby be feared of his enemyes, loved of all his ſubjects, may bring to his own glorye immortal fame and memory, to this realme, wealth, honour, and felicity, to true and unfained religion perpetuall peace, concord and unitye.

But to returne to ſhootinge againe, what *Leo* ſayth of ſhootinge, amonges the *Romaynes*, his wordes be ſo much for the prayſe of ſhootinge, and the booke alſo ſo rare to be gotten, that I learned the places by hearte, which be, as I ſuppoſe, even this. Firſt in his ſixte booke, as concerninge what harneſſe is beſt: " Let all the youth of *Rome* be compelled Leo. 6. 5.
" to uſe ſhootinge, eyther more or leſs, and alwayes to beare theyr bowe
" and theyr quiver aboute with them, untill they be eleven yeares olde."
For ſithens ſhootinge was neglected and decayed amonge the *Romaynes*, many a battayle and fielde hath bene loſt. Agayne, in the eleventh booke and fiftieth chapter, (I call that by bookes and chapters, which the *Greeke* book divideth by chapters and paragraphes) " Let your Leo. 11. 50.
" ſouldiours have theyr weapons well appointed and trimmed, but,
" above all other thinges, regard moſt ſhootinge, and therefore let
" men, when there is no warre, uſe ſhootinge at home. For the leav-
" inge off onelye of ſhootinge, hath brought in ruine and decaye the
" whole empyre of *Rome*."

Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne his captaine by theſe wordes.
" Arme your hoaſte as I have appointed you, but eſpeciallye with Leo. 18. 21.
" bowe and arrowes plentye. For ſhootinge is a thinge of much
" mighte and power in warre, and chiefliye agaynſt the *Saracenes*
" and *Turkes*, which people hath all theyr hope of victorye in
" theyr bowe and ſhaftes." Beſides all this, in an other place, he
wryteth thus to his captayne. " Artillerye is eaſy to be prepared, Leo. 20. 79.
" and, in time of great nede, a thinge moſt profitable, therefore we
" ſtraitelye commaund you to make proclamation to all men under
" our dominion, which be eyther in warre or peace, to all cities, bor-
" rowes, and townes, and finally, to all maner of men, that every
" fere perſon have bowe and ſhaftes of his owne, and everye houſe be-

" ſides this to have a ſtandinge bearinge bowe, and forty ſhaftes for " all nedes, and that they exerciſe themſelves in holts, hilles, and " dales, plaines and woods, for all maner of chaunces in warre."

How much ſhootinge was uſed among the olde *Romaynes*, and what meanes noble captaynes and emperours made to have it increaſe amonges them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it, theſe wordes of *Leo* the Emperour, which, in a maner, I have rehearſed word for word, plainly doth declare.

And yet ſhootinge, althoughe they ſet never ſo much by it, was never ſo good then, as it is now in *Englande*; which thinge to be true is very probable, in that *Leo* doth ſay, " That he would have his " ſouldiours take off theyr arrow heades, and one ſhoote at another, " for theyr exerciſe;" which play if *Engliſh* archers uſed, I thincke they ſhould finde ſmall playe, and leſſe pleaſure in it at all.

Leo. 7. 13.

The greate upperhande maintayned alwayes in warre by artillerye, doth appear very plainlye by this reaſon alſo, that when the *Spaniardes*, *Frenchmen*, and *Germaynes*, *Greekes*, *Macedonians*, and *Egyptians*, eche countrye uſinge one ſinguler weapon, for which they were greatlye feared in warre, as the *Spaniarde Lancea*, the *Frenchman Geſa*, the *Germane Framea*, the *Grecian Machera*, the *Macedonian Sariſſa*, yet could they not eſcape but be ſubjectes to the empyre of *Rome*, when the *Parthians*, having all theyr hope in artillerye, gave no place to them, but overcame the *Romaynes* ofter than the *Romaynes* them, and kept battel with them many an hundred yeare, and ſlue the riche *Craſſus* and his ſonne, with many a ſtout *Romayne* more, with theyr bowes; they drave *Marcus Antonius* over the hills of *Media* and *Armenia*, to his great ſhame and reproche; they ſlue *Julianus Apoſtata*, and *Antoninus Caracalla*; they held in perpetuall priſon the moſt noble Emperour *Valerian*, in deſpyte of all the *Romaynes* and many other princes, which wrote for his deliveraunce, as *Belſolis*, called King of Kinges, *Valerius* Kinge of *Caduſia*, *Arthabeſdes* King of *Armenia*, and manye other Princes more, whome the *Parthians*, by reaſon of theyr artillerye, regarded never one whitte, and thus with the *Romaynes*, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the ſunne ryſinge and

Plutarch. in Craſſ. & in M. Anton. Ael. Spart.

and ſunne ſettinge, as *Tullye* ſayth ; but ſo farre they went, as artillerye would geve them leave. For, I thinck, all the ground that they had, eyther Northward, further than the borders of *Scythia*, or Eaſtward, further than the borders of *Parthia*, a man might have bought with a ſmall deale of money, of which thinge ſurely ſhooting was the cauſe. Paulus Dia.

From the ſame country of *Scythia*, the *Gothians*, *Hunnes*, and *Vandalians*, came with the ſame weapon of artillerye, as *Paulus Diaconus* doth ſaye, and ſo bereft *Rome* of her empyre by fyre, ſpoyle, and waſte, ſo that in ſuch a learned city was left ſcarce one man behinde, that had learninge or leiſure to leave in writinge to them which ſhould come after how ſo noble an empyre, in ſo ſhort a while, by a rabble of baniſhed bond-men, withoute all order and pollicye, ſave onely theyr naturall and dailye exercyſe in artillerye, was broughte to ſuch thraldome and ruine. P. Mela.

After them the *Turkes*, having another name but yet the ſame people, borne in *Scythia*, brought uppe onely in artillerye, by the ſame weapon have ſubdued and bereft from the *Chriſten* men all *Aſia* and *Affricke* (to ſpeak upon) and the moſt noble countryes of *Europe*, to the greate demyniſhing of Chriſtes Religion, to the greate reproache of cowardyſe of all Chriſtianitye, a manifeſt token of Gods high wrath and diſpleaſure over the ſinne of the worlde, but ſpecially amonges Chriſten men, which be on ſlepe, made druncke with the fruites of the fleſh, as infidelitye, diſobedience to Gods word, and hereſie, grudge, ill will, ſtrife, open battaile, and privy envye, covetouſneſſe, oppreſſion, unmercifulneſſe, with innumerable ſortes of unſpeakable daily bawdrye: which thinges ſurelye, if God holde not his holye hand over us, and plucke us from them, will bringe us to a more *Turkiſhnes*, and more beaſtelye blind barbarouſneſſe, as callinge ill thinges good, and good thinges ill. Contemnynge of knowledge and learninge, ſettinge at nought, and having for a fable, God and his hyghe providence, will bringe us, I ſay, to a more ungracious *Turkiſhnes*, if more *Turkiſhnes* can be than this, than if the *Turkes* had ſworne to brynge all *Turkye* againſt us. For theſe fruites ſurely muſt needes ſprynge of ſuch ſeede, and ſuch effect needes folow of ſuch a cauſe, if reaſon, truth, and God be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For ſurelye no *Turkiſhe* Nota.

power can overthrow us, if *Turkiſhe* lyfe do not caſte us downe before. If God were with us, it buted not the *Turke* to be againſt us, but our unfaythfull ſinneful livinge which is the *Turkes* mother, and hath brought him uppe hitherto, muſte needes turne God from us, becauſe ſinne and he hath no felowſhippe together. If we baniſhed ill lyvinge oute of Chriſtendome, I am ſure the *Turke* ſhould not onely not overcome us, but ſcarce have an hole to runne into in his owne countrye.

But Chriſtendome now, I may tell you, *Philologe*, is much like a man that hath an itch on him, and lyeth dronke alſo in his bed, and though a theefe come to the dore, and heaveth at it, to come in and ſleye him, yet he lyeth in his bedde, having more pleaſure to lye in a ſlumber and ſcratch himſelfe where it itcheth, even to the harde bone, than he hath redineſſe to riſe uppe luſtely, and drive him away that would robbe him and ſleye him. But, I truſt, Chriſt will ſo lighten and lift uppe Chriſten mens eyes, that they ſhall not ſleepe to death, nor that the *Turke*, Chriſts open enemy, ſhall ever boaſt that he hath quite overthrowen us.

But, as I began to tell you, ſhootinge is the chyefe thinge wherewith God ſuffereth the *Turke* to puniſhe our noughtye lyvinge withall: the youth there is broughte uppe in ſhootinge, his privy garde for his own perſoune is bowmen, the might of theyr ſhootinge is well knowen of the *Spanyardes*, which at the town called *Newecaſtle*, in *Illyrica*, were quite ſlaine uppe, of the *Turkes* arrowes: when the *Spanyardes* had no uſe of theyr gunnes by reaſon of the raine. And now, laſt of all, the Emperours majeſtye himſelfe, at the citye of *Argier* in *Affricke*, had his hoaſt ſore handled with the *Turkes* arrowes, when his gunnes were quite diſpatched, and ſtode him in no ſervice becauſe of the raine that fell, whereas in ſuch a chaunce of raine, if he had had bowmen, ſurely theyr ſhotte mighte peradventure have bene a little hindered, but quite diſpatched and marde it could never have bene. But, as for the *Turkes*, I am werye to talke of them, partlye becauſe I hate them, and partlye becauſe I am now affectioned even as it were a man that had bene longe wanderinge in ſtraunge countries, and would fayne be at home to ſee how well his own frendes proſper and lead theyr lyfe. And ſurelye, me thincke, I am verye merye at my hart to remember how

Caſp. de rebus Turc.

how I ſhall finde at home in *Englande*, amonges *Engliſhmen*, partely by hiſtoryes of them that have gone afore us, againe by experience of them which we knowe and live with us, as greate noble feates of warre by artillerye as ever was done at anye time in any other common wealthe. And here I muſt nedes remember a certaine *Frenchman*, called *Textor*, that writeth a booke which he nameth *Officina*, wherein he weaveth up many broken ended matters, and ſettes out much riffraffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage, and beggery ware, clamparde up of one that would ſeeme to be fitter for a ſhop indede than to wryte anye booke. And, amonges all other ill packed up matters, he thruſtes uppe in a heepe together all the good ſhooters that ever hath bene in the worlde, as he ſayth himſelfe, and yet I trowe, *Philologe*, that all the examples which I now, by chaunce, have reherſed out of the beſt authors both in *Greke* and *Latine*, *Textor* hath but two of them, which two ſurelye, if they were to reckon againe, I would not ones name them, partlye becauſe they were noughtye perſons, and ſhootinge ſo muche the worſe, becauſe they loved it, as *Domitian* and *Commodus*, the Emperours: partlye becauſe *Textor* hath them in his booke, on whom I loked by chaunce in the booke-binders ſhoppe, thinckinge of no ſuch matter. And one thinge I will ſaye to you, *Philologe*, that if I were diſpoſed to do it, and you had leyſure to hear it, I could ſone do as *Textor* doth, and reckon uppe ſuch a rabble of ſhooters that be named here and there in poetes, as would hold us talkinge whiles to-morrow: but my purpoſe was not to make mention of thoſe which were fayned of poetes for theyr pleaſure, but of ſuche as were proved in hiſtoryes for a truthe. But why I bringe in *Textor* was this: at laſt, when he hath rekened all ſhooters that he can, he ſayth thus, *Petrus Crinitus* wryteth, that the *Scottes*, which dwell beyonde *Englande*, be very excellent ſhooters, and the beſt bowmen in warre. This ſentence, whether *Crinitus* wrote it more leudlye of ignorance, or *Textor* confirmeth it more piviſhlye of envye, maye be called in queſtion and doubt, but this ſurelye do I knowe verye well, that *Textor* hath both redde in *Gaguinus* the *Frenche* hiſtorye, and alſo hath hearde his father or graunde father talke (excepte per chaunce he was born and bredde in a cloyſter) after that ſort of the ſhootinge of *Engliſhmen*, that *Textor* neded not to have gone ſo piviſhlye beyonde *Englande* for ſhootinge, but might very ſoon, even into the firſt towne of *Kent*, have found ſuch plentye of ſhootinge,

Textor.

P. Crin. 3. 10.

as

as is not in all the realme of *Scotlande* againe. The *Scottes* furelye be good men of warre in theyr owne feates as can be: but as for ſhootinge, they neyther can uſe it for any profite, nor yet will chalenge it for any praiſe, althoughe Maiſter *Textor*, of his gentleneſſe, would geve it them. *Textor* neded not to have filled up his booke with ſuch lyes, if he had redde the hiſtorye of *Scotlande*, which *Johannes Major* doth wryte: wherein he might have learned, that when *James Stewart*, firſt Kinge of that name, at the parliamente holden at *Saint Johns* towne, or *Perthie*, commaundinge under paine of great forfite, that everye *Scotte* ſhould learne to ſhoote: yet neyther the love of theyr countrye, the feare of theyr enemyes, the avoydinge of puniſhment, nor the receyvinge of any profite that might come by it, could make them to be good archers: which be unapte and unfitte thereunto by Gods providence and nature.

John Maj. 6.

Therefore the *Scottes* themſelves prove *Textor* a lyer, both with auctoritye and alſo daily experience, and by a certaine proverbe that they have amonges theyr communication, whereby they geve the whole prayſe of ſhootinge honeſtlye to *Engliſhmen*, ſayinge thus: that *Every Engliſh archer beareth under his girdle twenty-four Scottes.*

But to let *Textor* and the *Scottes* go, yet one thinge would I wiſhe for the *Scottes*, and that is this, that ſeeinge one God, one fayth, one compaſſe of the ſea, one land and countrye, one tounge in ſpeakinge, one maner and trade in lyvinge, like courage and ſtomache in warre, like quickeneſſe of witte to learninge, hath made *Englande* and *Scotlande* both one, they would ſuffer them no longer to be two: but cleane geve over the *Pope*, which ſeeketh none other thinge (as manye a noble and wyſe *Scottiſhe* man doth knowe) but to fede uppe diſſention and parties betwixte them and us, procuringe that thinge to be two, which God, nature, and reaſon would have one.

John Major 6. Hiſt. Scot.

How profitable ſuch an * attonemente were for *Scotlande*, both *Johannes Major* and *Hector Boetius*, which wrote the *Scottes* chronicles, do tell, and alſo all the gentlemen of *Scotlande*, with the poore communaltye, do well knowe: ſo that there is nothinge that ſtoppeth this matter, ſave

* *Attonement* is *Union*, or the act of *ſetting at one*.

only

only a few fryers, and ſuch like, which, with the dregges of our *Engliſhe* Papiſtrye lurkinge amonges them, ſtudye nothing els but to brewe battaile and ſtrife betwixt both the people: whereby onlye they hope to maintaine theyr papiſticall kingdome, to the deſtruction of the noble bloude of *Scotlande*, that then they maye with authoritye do that, which neyther noble man nor poor man in *Scotlande* yet doth know. And as for *Scottiſhe* men and *Engliſhe* men be not ennemyes by nature, but by cuſtome; not by our good will, but by theyr own follye: which ſhould take more honour in being copled to *Englande*, than we ſhould take profite in beinge joyned to *Scotlande*.

Wales beinge headye and rebelling many yeares againſt us, laye wilde, untylled, uninhabited, without lawe, juſtice, civilitye and order; and then was amonges them more ſtealinge than true dealinge, more ſuretye for them that ſtudyed to be nought, than quietneſſe for them that laboured to be good: when nowe, thancked be God and noble *Englande*, there is no countrye better inhabited, more civile, more diligent in honeſt craftes, to get both true and plentifull livinge withall. And this felicitye (my minde geveth me) ſhould have chaunced alſo to *Scotlande*, by the godlye wyſedome of the moſt noble Prince Kinge *Henrye* the VIII. by whom God wrought more wonderfull thinges than ever by anye Prince before: as baniſhinge the biſhoppe of *Rome* and hereſye, bringinge to light Gods word and veritye, eſtabliſhinge ſuch juſtice and equitye throughe everye part of this realme, as never was ſeene afore.

But *Textor* (I beſhrowe him) hath almoſt brought us from our communication of ſhootinge. Now Sir, by my judgemente, the artillerye of *Englande* farre exceedeth all other realmes: but yet one thinge I doubt, and long have ſurely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, ſhootinge was firſt brought into *Englande*; and, for the ſame purpoſe, as I was once in companye with Sir *Thomas Eliot* knighte, which ſurely for his learninge in all kinde of knowledge, brought muche worſhippe to all the nobilitye of *Englande*, I was ſo bould to aſke him, if he at any time had marked any thinge, as concerninge the bringinge in of ſhootinge into *Englande:* he aunſwered me gentlye againe, he had a worke in hand, which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Angliæ*, which

I truſt we ſhall ſee in print ſhortlye, and, for the accompliſhement of that booke, he had redde and peruſed over manye ould monuments of *Englande*, and, in ſeeking for that purpoſe, he marked this of ſhootinge in an excedinge olde chronicle, the which had no name, that what time as the *Saxons* came firſt into this realme, in kinge *Vortigers* dayes, when they had bene here a while, and at laſt began to faule out with the *Britaynes*, they troubled and ſubdued the *Britaynes* with nothinge ſo much as with theyr bowe and ſhaftes, which weapon beinge ſtraunge and not ſeene here before, was wonderfull terrible unto them, and this beginninge I can thincke verye well to be true. But now as concerninge many examples for the prayſe of *Engliſhe* archers in warre, ſurelye I will not be longe in a matter that no man doubteth in, and thoſe fewe that I will name, ſhall eyther be proved by the hiſtoryes of our enemyes, or els done by men that now live.

King *Edwarde* the third, at the battaile of *Creſſie*, againſt *Philip* the *French* King, as *Gaguinus*, the *French* hiſtoriographer, plainlye doth tell, ſlewe that daye all the nobilitye of *Fraunce* onlye with his archers.

Such like battaile alſo fought the noble black Prince *Edwarde* beſide *Poictiers*, where *John* the *French* Kinge, with his ſonne, and in a manner all the peres of *Fraunce* were taken, beſides thirty thouſand which that daye were ſlaine, and very few *Engliſhe* men, by reaſon of theyr bowes.

Kinge *Henrye* the fifte, a Prince pereleſſe and moſt victorious conquerour of all that ever dyed yet in this parte of the worlde, at the battle of *Agincourt*, with ſeven thouſand fightinge men, and yet manye of them ſicke, being ſuche archers, as the chronicle ſayth, that moſt parte of them drewe a yarde, ſlewe all the chevalrye of *Fraunce*, to the number of forty thouſand and mo, and loſt not paſt twenty-ſix *Engliſhmen*.

The bloudye civill warre of *Englande* betwixte the houſe of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, where ſhaftes ſlewe of both ſydes to the deſtruction of manye a yoman of *Englande*, whom foreine battell could never have ſubdued, both I will paſſe over for the pytifulneſſe of it, and yet maye we

we highlye prayſe God in the remembraunce of it, ſeinge he, of his providence, hath ſo knitte together thoſe two noble houſes, with ſo noble and pleaſaunte a flowre.

The excellent Prince *Thomas Howarde* Duke of *Norfolke*, with bowemen of *Englande*, ſlewe Kinge *Jamye* with manye a noble *Scotte*, even brant againſt *Floden* hill, in which battell the ſtoute archers of *Cheſſhyre* and *Lancaſhyre*, for one daye beſtowed to the death for theyr Prince and countrye ſake, hath gotten immortall name and prayſe for ever.

The feare onlye of *Engliſhe* archers hath done more wonderfull thinges than ever I redde in anye hiſtorye, *Greke* or *Latine*, and moſt wonderfull of all now of late, beſyde *Carliſle*, betwixt *Eſke* and *Leven*, at *Sandyeſikes*, where the whole nobilitye of *Scotlande*, for feare of the archers of *Englande*, (next the ſtroke of God) as both *Engliſhe* and *Scottiſhe* men that were preſent hath tolde me, were drowned and taken priſoners.

Nor that noble acte alſo, which althoughe it be almoſt loſt by time, cometh not behinde in worthineſſe, which my ſingular good frende and maiſter *Sir William Walgrave*, and *Sir George Somerſet* did, with a fewe archers, to the number, as it is ſayd, of ſixteen, at the turnpike beſyde *Hammes*, where they turned with ſo fewe archers ſo manye *Frenchmen* to flight, and turned ſo manye out of theyr * jackes, which turne turned all *Fraunce* to ſhame and reproach; and thoſe two noble knightes to perpetuall prayſe and fame.

And thus you ſee, *Philologe*, in all countryes, *Aſia*, *Affricke*, and *Europe*, in *Inde*, *Ethiop.* *Egypt*, and *Jurie*, *Parthia*, *Perſia*, *Grece* and *Italye*, *Scythia*, *Turkye*, and *Englande*, from the beginninge of the world even to this daye, that ſhootinge hath had the chiefe ſtroke in warre. PHI. Theſe examples ſurelye apte for the prayſe of ſhootinge, not fayned by poetes, but proved by true hiſtoryes, diſtinct by time and order, hath delited me exceeding much, but yet methincke that all this prayſe belongeth to ſtronge ſhootinge and drawinge of mightye bowes, not to prickinge and nere ſhootinge, for which cauſe you and many other doth love and uſe ſhootinge. TOX. Evermore, *Philologe*, you will have ſome overthwarte reaſon to drawe

* A Jack is a coat of mail.

forth more communication withal, but, nevertheleſſe, you ſhall perceyve if you will, that uſe of prickinge, and deſire of nere ſhootinge at home, are the onlye cauſes of ſtronge ſhootinge in warre, and why? For you ſee that the ſtronge men do not draw alwayes the ſtrongeſt ſhote, which thinge proveth that drawinge ſtronge lyeth not ſo much in the ſtrengthe of man, as in the uſe of ſhootinge. And experience teacheth the ſame in other thinges, for you ſhall ſee a weake ſmithe, which will with a * lipe and turninge of his arme, take uppe a barre of yron, that another man, thriſe as ſtronge, cannot ſtirre. And a ſtronge man not uſed to ſhoote, hath his armes, breaſt and ſhoulders, and other parts wherewith he ſhould drawe ſtronglye, one hinderinge and ſtoppinge another, even as a dozen ſtronge horſes not uſed to the cart, lettes and troubles one another. And ſo the more ſtronge man not uſed to ſhoote, ſhootes moſt unhanſumlye, but yet if a ſtrong man with uſe of ſhooting coulde apply all the partes of his bodye together, to theyr moſte ſtrength, then ſhould he both drawe ſtronger than other, and alſo ſhoote better than other. But nowe a ſtronge man not uſed to ſhoote, at a girde, can heve up and plucke in ſunder many a good bowe, as wilde horſes at a brunt doth race and plucke in pieces many a ſtronge carte. And thus ſtronge men, without uſe, can do nothinge in ſhootinge to any purpoſe, neyther in warre nor peace, but if they happen to ſhoote, yet they have done within a ſhote or two, when a weake man that is uſed to ſhoote, ſhall ſerve for all times and purpoſes, and ſhall ſhoote ten ſhaftes againſt the others four, and drawe them uppe to the pointe every time, and ſhoote them to the moſt advantage, drawinge and withdrawinge his ſhafte when he liſt, marking at one man, yet letdryvinge at an other man: which thinges, in a ſet battaile, althoughe a man ſhall not alwayes uſe, yet in bickeringes, and at overthwart meetinges, when few archers be together, they do moſt good of all.

Againe, he that is not uſed to ſhoote, ſhall evermore with untowardneſſe of houldinge his bowe, and nockinge his ſhafte, not lokinge to his ſtringe betime, put his bowe alwayes in jeopardye of breakinge, and then he were better to be at home, moreover he ſhall ſhoote very few

* The word *Lipe* I never ſaw, and know not whether I underſtand it; if it be the ſame as *leap*, it may mean a jerk or ſudden motion.

ſhaftes,

ſhaftes, and thoſe full unhandſumly, ſome not halfe drawen, ſome to high and ſome to low, nor he cannot drive a ſhote at a time, nor ſtoppe a ſhote at a nede, but out muſt it, and very oft to evill profe.

Phi. And that is beſt, I trowe, in warre, to let it go, and not to ſtoppe it. Tox. No not ſo, but ſome time to hould a ſhaft at the head, which, if they be but few archers, doth more good with the fear of it, than it ſhould do if it were ſhotte with the ſtroke of it. Phi. That is a wonder to me, that the fear of a diſpleaſure ſhould do more harme than the diſpleaſure itſelfe. Tox. Yes, ye knowe that a man which feareth to be baniſhed oute of his countrye, can neyther be merye, eate, drincke, nor ſleepe for feare; yet when he is baniſhed in dede, he ſleepeth and eateth as well as any other. And many men, doubtinge and fearinge whether they ſhould dye or no, even for very fear of death, preventeth themſelfe with a more bitter death, than the other death ſhould have bene indede. And thus fear is worſe than the thing feared, as is pretelye proved by the communication of *Cyrus* and *Tigranes*, the Kinges ſonne of *Armenie*, in *Zenophon*. Cyroped. 3.

Phi. I graunt, *Toxophile*, that uſe of ſhootinge maketh a man drawe ſtronge, to ſhoote at moſt advantage, to kepe his gere, which is no ſmall thinge in warre; but yet methincke that the cuſtomable ſhootinge at home, ſpeciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothinge at all for ſtronge ſhootinge, which doth moſt good in warre. Therefore, I ſuppoſe, if men ſhould uſe to go into the fieldes, and learne to ſhoote mightye ſtronge ſhotes, and never care for anye mark at all, they ſhould do much better. Tox. The truthe is, that faſhion much uſed would do much good, but this is to be feared, leaſt that waye could not provoke men to uſe much ſhootinge, becauſe there ſhould be litle pleaſure in it. And that in ſhooting is beſte, that provoketh a man to uſe ſhooting moſt: for much uſe maketh men ſhoote both ſtronge and well, which two thinges in ſhooting every man doth deſyre. And the chiefe maintayner of uſe in anye thinge is compariſon and honeſt contention. For when a man ſtryveth to be better than an other, he will gladlye uſe that thinge, though it be never ſo painful, wherein he would excell, which thinge *Ariſtotle* very pretelye doth note, ſayinge,

Arist. Rhet. " Where is compariſon, there is victorye; where is victorye there is " pleaſure: and where is pleaſure, no man careth what labour or paine " he taketh, becauſe of the prayſe and pleaſure that he ſhall have in " doing better than other men."

Heſiod. in Op. et die. Agayne, you knowe, *Heſiodus* writeth to his brother *Perſes*, " that " all crafteſmen, by contendinge one honeſtlye with another, do en- " creaſe theyr cunninge with theyr ſubſtance." And therefore in *London*, and other great cityes, men of one crafte, moſt commonlye, dwell together, becauſe in honeſt ſtrivinge together, who ſhall do beſt, everye one maye waxe both cunninger and rycher. So likewyſe in ſhootinge, to make matches to aſſemble archers together, to contend who ſhall ſhoote beſt, and winne the game, encreaſeth the uſe of ſhootinge wonderfullye amonges men. PHI. Of uſe you ſpeake verye muche, *Toxophile*, but I am ſure in all other matters uſe can do nothinge, withoute two other thinges be joyned with it, one is a naturall aptneſſe to a thinge, the other is a true waye or knowledge, howe to do the thinge, to which two if uſe be joyned as thirde ſelowe of them three, procedeth perfectneſſe and excellencye: if a man lacke the firſt two, aptneſſe and cunninge, uſe can do litle good at all.

For he that would be an oratour, and is nothinge naturallye fitte for it, that is to ſaye, lacketh a good witte and memorye, lacketh a good voyce, countenaunce and bodye, and other ſuch like, yea, if he had all theſe, and knowe not what, howe, where, when, nor to whom he ſhoulde ſpeake, ſurely the uſe of ſpeakinge would bringe oute none other fruite but plain follye and bablinge, ſo that uſe is the laſt and the leaſt neceſſarye of all three, yet nothinge can be done excellentlye withoute them all three; and therefore, *Toxophile*, I myſelfe, becauſe I never knewe whether I was apte for ſhootinge or no, nor never knewe waye howe I ſhould learne to ſhoote, I have not uſed to ſhoote: and ſo, I thincke, five hundred more in *Englande* do beſyde me. And ſurelye, if I knewe that I were apte, and that you would teache me how to ſhoote, I would become an archer, and the rather becauſe of the good communication, the which I have had with you this daye of ſhootinge. TOX. Aptneſſe, knowledge, and uſe, even as you ſay, make all thinges perfecte. Aptneſſe is the firſt and chiefeſt thing, withoute

withoute which the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doth encreaſe all maner of aptneſſe both leſſe and more. Uſe, ſayth *Cicero*, is farre above all teaching. And thus they all three muſt be had, to do any thing very well, and if any one be away, whatſoever is done, is done very meanelye. Aptneſſe is the gift of nature, knowledge is gotten by the helpe of other; uſe lyeth in our owne diligence and labour; ſo that aptneſſe and uſe be ours and within us, through nature and labour; knowledge not ours, but comminge by other: and therefore moſt diligently of all men to be ſought for. Howe theſe three thinges ſtande with the artillerye of *Englande*, a word or two I will ſay.

All *Engliſhe* men, generally, be apt for ſhootinge, and howe? Lyke as that grounde is plentiful and fruitful, which, without any tillinge, bringeth out corne; as, for example, if a man ſhoulde goe to the mill or market with corne, and happen to ſpill ſome in the waye, yet it would take roote and growe, becauſe the ſoyle is ſo good; ſo *Englande* may be thought very fruitful, and apte to bringe out ſhooters, where children, even from the craddle love it, and yonge men, without any teaching, ſo diligently uſe it. Again, likewiſe, as a good ground, well tylled and well huſbanded, bringeth out great plenty of byg eared corne, and good to the faule: ſo if the youthe of *Englande*, beinge apte of itſelfe to ſhoote, were taught and learned howe to ſhoote, the archers of *Englande* ſhould not be onely a great deale ranker, and mo than they be; but alſo a good deale bigger and ſtronger archers than they be. This commodity ſhould folowe alſo, if the youthe of *Englande* were taughte to ſhoote, that even as plowinge of a good grounde for wheate, doth not only make it meete for the ſeede, but alſo ryveth and plucketh up by the rootes all thiſtles, brambles and weeds, which growe of their own accorde, to the deſtruction of both corne and grounde: Even ſo ſhould the teachinge of youthe to ſhoote, not only make them ſhoote well, but alſo plucke awaye by the rootes all other deſyre to noughtye paſtimes, as dyſinge, cardinge, and boulinge, which, without any teaching, are uſed every where, to the great harme of all youth of this realme. And likewiſe, as burning of thiſtles, and diligente weeding them out of the corne, doth not halfe ſo much rydde them, as when the ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I have heard many a good huſbandman ſaye: even ſo, neither hote puniſhment, nor yet diligent

diligent ſearching out of ſuch unthriftineſſe by the officers, ſhall ſo thorowly weede theſe ungratious games out of the realme, as occupying and bringing up youth in ſhootinge, and other honeſt paſtime. Thirdly, as a grounde which is apt for corne, and alſo well tilled for corne; yet if a man let it lye ſtill, and do not occupy it three or four yeare; but then will ſowe it, if it be wheat, ſayth *Columella*, it will turn into rye: ſo if a man be never ſo apt to ſhoote, nor never ſo well taughte in his youth to ſhoote, yet if he geve it over, and not uſe to ſhoote, truly when he ſhall be eyther compelled in warre time for his countrys ſake, or elſe provoked at home for his pleaſure ſake, to faule to his bowe: he ſhall become of a fayre archer, a ſtarke ſquyrter and dribber. Therefore in ſhootinge, as in all other thinges, there can neither be many in number, nor excellent in deede, excepte theſe three thinges, aptneſſe, knowledge, and uſe, go together.

Phi. Very well ſayd, *Toxophile*, and I promiſe you, I agree to this judgement of yours together, and therefore I cannot little marveile, why *Engliſhe* men bringe no more helpe to ſhootinge, than nature itſelfe geveth them. For you ſee that even children be put to their owne ſhiftes in ſhootinge, havinge nothinge taughte them: but that they may chooſe, and chaunce to ſhoot ill, rather then well, unaptlye ſoner then fitlye, untowardlye more eaſely then well favoredly, which thinge cauſeth many never begin to ſhoote, and mo to leave it off when they have begun: and moſt of all to ſhoote both worſe and weaker than they might ſhoote, if they were taught.

But peradventure ſome men will ſay, that with uſe of ſhootinge a man ſhall learn to ſhoote; true it is, he ſhall learne, but what ſhall he learne? Mary to ſhoote noughtlie. For all uſe, in all thinges, if it be not ſtayed by cunning, will very eaſely bring a man to do that thing, whatſoever he goeth about, with much ilfavoredneſſe and deformitye. Which thinge how much harme it doth in learninge, both *Craſſus* excellently doth prove in *Tully*, and I myſelfe have experience in my litle ſhootinge. And therefore, *Toxophile*, you muſt needes graunt me, that eyther *Engliſhe* men do ill, in not joyning knowledge of ſhootinge to uſe, or els there is no knowledge or cunning which can be gathered of ſhootinge.

Tox.

Tox. Learning to ſhoote is little regarded in *Englande*, for this conſideration, becauſe men be ſo apte by nature they have a greate ready forwardneſſe and will to uſe it, although no man teache them, although no man bidde them, and ſo of their own courage they runne hedlynge on it, and ſhoote they ill, ſhoote they well, great heede they take not. And, in verye deede, aptneſſe with uſe may do ſomewhat without knowledge, but not the tenthe parte, if ſo be they were joyned with knowledge. Which three thinges be ſeparate as you ſee, not of their owne kinde, but through the negligence of men which coupled them not together. And where ye doubt, whether there can be gathered any knowledge or arte in ſhootinge or no, ſurelye I thincke that a man, being well exerciſed in it, and ſomewhat honeſtlye learned withall, might ſoone, with diligent obſerving and marking the whole nature of ſhooting, find out, as it were, an art of it, as artes in other matters have bene founde out afore, ſeeing that ſhootinge ſtandeth by thoſe thinges, which may both be thorowlye perceyved, and perfectly knowen, and ſuch that never fails, but be ever certaine, belonging to one moſt perfect ende, as ſhooting ſtraight and keeping of a lengthe bringe a man to hitte the marke, the chiefe ende in ſhootinge, which two thinges a man maye attaine unto, by dyligente uſinge and well handeling thoſe inſtruments which belonge unto them. Therefore I cannot ſee, but there lyeth hidde in the nature of ſhootinge an arte, which, by noting and obſerving of them that is exerciſed in it, if he be any thing learned at all, may be taught, to the great furtheraunce of artillerye throughe oute all this realme: and truely I marveile greatlye, that *Engliſhe* men woulde never yet ſeeke for the arte of ſhootinge, ſeeinge they be ſo apt unto it, ſo prayſed of their friendes, ſo feared of their enemies for it. *Vegetius* would have maiſters appointed, which ſhould teache youthe to ſhoote fayre. *Leo* the Emperour of *Rome* ſheweth the ſame cuſtome to have been alwayes amongeſt the olde *Romaines:* which cuſtome of teachinge youth to ſhoote, (ſayth he) after it was omitted and litle hede taken of, brought the whole empyre of *Rome* to greate ruine. *Schola Perſica*, that is, the ſchole of the *Perſians*, appointed to bringe up youth, whiles they were twenty yeare olde, only in ſhootinge, is as notably knowne in hiſtoryes as the empyre of the *Perſians:* which ſchole, as doth appear in *Cornelius Tacitus*, as ſone as they gave over and

Vegetius.

Leo. 6. 5.

Strabo. 11.

Cor. Tac. 2.

and fell to other idle paſtimes, broughte both them and the *Parthians* under the ſubjection of the *Romaines*. *Plato* would have *common maiſ-*
De leg. 7. *ters and ſtipendes, for to teache youthe to ſhoote, and, for the ſame purpoſe, he would have a broade fielde neare everye citie, made common for men to uſe ſhootinge in.* Whiche ſayinge, the more reaſonablye it is ſpoken of *Plato* the more unreaſonable is their deede, which would ditche up thoſe fieldes privatelye for their own profite, which lyeth open generallye for the common uſe: men by ſuch goods be made richer, not honeſter,
De Offic. 2. ſayth *Tullye*. If men be perſuaded to have ſhootinge taughte, this authoritye which foloweth will perſwade them, or elſe none, and that is, as I have ones ſayde before, of King *David*, whoſe firſt acte and ordinaunce was, after he was Kinge, that all *Judea* ſhould learne to ſhoote. If ſhootinge coulde ſpeake, ſhe woulde accuſe *Englande* of unkindneſſe and ſlothfulneſſe; of unkindneſſe toward her, becauſe ſhe beinge left to a little blind uſe, lackes her beſt maintainer which is cunninge: of ſlothfulneſſe towarde their owne ſelfe, becauſe they are content with that which aptneſſe and uſe doth graunt them in ſhootinge, and will ſeek for no knowledge as other noble common wealthes have done: and the juſtlier ſhooting might make this complaint, ſeeinge that of fence and weapons there is made an arte, a thinge in no wyſe to be compared to ſhootinge. For of fence, almoſt in everye towne, there is not onely maiſters to teach it, with his provoſters, uſhers, ſcholers, and other names of arte and ſchole, but there hath not fayled alſo, which hath diligentlye and * favouredlye written it, and is ſet out in printe, that everye man maye reade it.

What diſcommoditye doth come by the lacke of knowledge, in ſhootinge, it were over long to rehearſe. For manye that have been apte, and loved ſhootinge, becauſe they knewe not whiche waye to houlde to come to ſhootinge, have cleane turned themſelves from ſhootinge. And I maye tell you, *Philologe*, the lacke of teachinge to ſhoote in *Englande* cauſeth very many men to play with the Kinges actes, as a man did ones, eyther with the Mayor of *London* or *York*, I cannot tell whether, which did commaund by proclamation, every man in the citye to hange a lanterne, with a candell, afore his dore: which thinge the man did, but

* *Favouredly* is, I ſuppoſe, *plauſibly*.

he

he did not light it; and ſo many bye bowes, becauſe of the * acte, but yet they ſhoote not, not of evil will, but becauſe they knowe not howe to ſhoote. But, to conclude of this matter, in ſhootinge as in all other thinges, aptneſſe is the firſt and chiefe thinge, which if it be awaye, neyther cunninge nor uſe doth any good at all, as the *Scottes* and *Frenchmen*, with knowledge and uſe of ſhootinge, ſhall become good archers, when a cunninge ſhip-wright ſhall make a ſtrong ſhippe of a ſallowe tree; or when a huſbandman ſhall become riche, with ſowinge wheat on *Newmarket* heath. Cunninge muſt be had, both to ſet out and amend nature, and alſo to overſee and correct uſe, which uſe, if it be not led, and governed with cunning, ſhall ſoner go amiſſe, than ſtraight. Uſe maketh perfitneſſe in doing that thinge, whereunto nature maketh a man apt, and knowledge maketh a man cunninge before. So that it is not ſo doubtful, which of them three hath moſt ſtroke in ſhootinge, as it is plaine and evidente, that all three muſt be had in excellent ſhootinge. Phi. For this communication, *Toxophile*, I am very glad, and that for mine own ſake, becauſe I truſt now to become a ſhooter. And indede I thought afore, *Engliſhe* men moſt apt for ſhootinge, and I ſaw them dailye uſe ſhootinge, but yet I never found none, that would talke of anye knowledge whereby a man might come to ſhootinge. Therefore I truſt that you, by the uſe you have had in ſhootinge, have ſo thorowly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teache me, as it were by a trade or way, how to come to it. Tox. I graunt I have uſed ſhootinge metelye well: that I might have marked it well enough, if I had bene diligent. But my much ſhootinge hath cauſed me ſtudye litle, ſo that thereby I lacke learninge, which ſhould ſet out the art or waye in anye thinge. And you know that I was never ſo well ſeene, in the *Poſteriorums* of *Ariſtotle*, as to invent and ſearch out general demonſtrations, for the ſettinge forth of any new ſcience. Yet, by my trouth, if you will, I will go with you into the fieldes at any time, and tell you as much as I can, or els you maye ſtande ſome time at the prickes and loke on them which ſhoote beſt, and ſo learne. Phi. Howe litle you have loked of *Ariſtotle*, and howe much learninge you have loſt by ſhootinge, I cannot tell, but this I would ſaye, and if I loved you never ſo ill, that you have been occupyed in ſome what els beſyde ſhootinge. But, to our purpoſe, as I will not require a trade in ſhootinge to be taught me after the ſubtiltye of *Ariſtotle*, even ſo do I not agree with you in this point, that you would

Aptneſſe.

Cunninge.

* The ſtatute.

have me learne to ſhoote with lokinge on them which ſhoote beſt, for ſo I know I ſhould never come to ſhoote metelye; for in ſhootinge, as in all other thinges which be gotten by teachinge, there muſt be ſhewed a way, and a path, which ſhall leade a man to the beſt and chiefeſt point which is in ſhootinge, which you do mark yourſelfe well enough, and uttered it alſo in your communication, when you ſayd there lay hid in the nature of ſhootinge a certaine waye which, well perceyved and thoroughlye known, would bring a man, without any wanderinge, to the beſt ende in ſhootinge, which you called hittinge of the pricke. Therefore I would refer all my ſhootinge to that ende which is beſt, and ſo ſhould I come the ſoner to ſome meane. That which is beſt hath no faulte, nor cannot be amended. So ſhewe me beſte ſhootinge, not the beſte ſhooter, which if he be never ſo good, yet hath he many a faulte, eaſilye of any man to be eſpyed. And therefore marveile not if I requyre to folowe that example which is without faulte, rather than that which hath ſo manye faultes. And this way everye wyſe man doth folowe in teachinge any maner of thinge. As *Ariſtotle*, when he teacheth a man to be good, he ſettes not before him *Socrates* lyfe, which was the beſt man, but chief goodneſs itſelfe; according to which he would have a man direct his life. Tox. This way which you requyre of me, *Philologe*, is to harde for me, and to hye for a ſhooter to taulke on, and taken, as I ſuppoſe, out of the middeſt of *Philoſophie*, to ſearche out the perfite ende of any thinge, the which perfite ende to finde out, ſayth *Tullye*, is the hardeſt thinge in the world, the onlye occaſion and cauſe why ſo many ſectes of *Philoſophers* hath bene alwayes in learninge. And although, as *Cicero* ſayth, a man maye imagine and dreame in his minde of a perfect ende in any thinge, yet there is no experience nor uſe of it, nor was never ſeene yet amonges men; as alwayes to heale the ſicke, evermore to leade a ſhippe without daunger, at all times to hit the * pricke, ſhall no phiſitian, no ſhip-maiſters, no ſhooter ever do; and *Ariſtotle* ſayth, that in all deedes there are two points to be marked, poſſibilitye and excellencye, but chieflye a wyſe man muſt folowe, and laye hande on poſſibilitye, for feare he loſe both. Therefore, ſeeinge that which is moſt perfect and beſt in ſhootinge, as alwayes to hit the pricke, was never ſeene nor hard tell on yet amonges men, but onlye imagined and thought upon in a mans minde, me thincke this is the wyſeſt counſell, and beſt for us to folowe rather that which a man

Orat. ad Bru.

Ariſt. Pol. 8. 6.

* The *prick*, at other times called the *white*, is the white ſpot or *point* in the midſt of the mark.

may

may come to, than that which is unpoſſible to be attayned to, leſt juſtlye that ſayinge of the wyſe *Iſmene* in *Sophocles* maye be verifyed on us.

A foole is he that takes in hande he cannot ende. Soph. Ant.

Phi. Well, if the perfite ende of other matters had bene as perfitelye knowne, as the perfite ende of ſhootinge is, there had never bene ſo many ſects of *Philoſophers* as there be, for in ſhootinge both man and boy is of one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pricke is the moſt perfite ende that can be imagined, ſo that we ſhall not neede greatly contende in this matter. But nowe, Sir, whereas you thincke that a man in learninge to ſhoote, or any thinge els, ſhould rather wyſelye folowe poſſibilitye, than vainly ſeke for perfite excellencye, ſurelye I will prove that everye wyſe man, that wyſely would learne any thinge, ſhall chiefflye go about that whereunto he knoweth well he ſhall never come. And you yourſelfe, I ſuppoſe, ſhall confeſſe the ſame to be the beſt way in teaching, if you will aunſwer me to thoſe thinges which I will aſke of you. Tox. And that I will gladlye, both becauſe I thincke it is impoſſible for you to prove it, and alſo becauſe I deſire to heare what you can ſay in it.

Phi. The ſtudye of a good phiſitian, *Toxophile*, I trowe be to knowe all diſeaſes and all medycines fit for them. * Tox. It is ſo indeed. Phi. Becauſe, I ſuppoſe, he would gladly, at all times, heale all diſeaſes of all men. Tox. Yea, trulye. Phi. A good purpoſe ſurelye, but was there ever phiſition yet amonge ſo manye which hath laboured in this ſtudye, that at all times could heale all diſeaſes? Tox. No truly, nor, I thincke, never ſhall be. Phi. Then phiſitions belike, ſtudy for that, which none of them commeth unto. But in learning of fence, I pray you what is that which men moſt labour for? Tox. That they may hit another, I trowe, and never take blow their ſelfe. Phi. You ſay trothe, and I am ſure every one of them would fayne do ſo whenſoever he playeth. But was there ever any of them ſo cunninge yet, which, at one time or other, hath not been touched? Tox. The beſt of them all is glad ſometimes to eſcape with a blowe. Phi. Then in fence alſo, men are taught to go about that thinge, which the beſt of them all knoweth he ſhall never attaine unto. Moreover you that

* Here is an example of the *Socratic* method of diſputation, which, by repeated interrogations, confutes the opponent out of his own anſwers.

be ſhooters, I praye you, what meane you, when ye take ſo great heede to kepe your ſtandinge, to ſhoote compaſſe, to loke on your marke ſo diligentlye, to caſt uppe graſſe divers times, and other thinges more you know better than I. What would you do then, I praye you?

Tox. Hit the marke if we could. Phi. And doth every man go about to hit the marke at every ſhote? Tox. By my trothe I trowe ſo, and, as for myſelfe, I am ſure I do. Phi. But all men do not hit it all times? Tox. No, trulye, for that were a wonder. Phi. Can any man hit it at all times? Tox. No man trulye. Phi. Then bylikely to hit the pricke alwayes is unpoſſible. For that is called unpoſſible which is in no mans power to do. Tox. Unpoſſible indede. Phi. But to ſhoote wide and farre of the marke is a thinge poſſible. Tox: No man will denye that. Phi. But yet to hit the marke alwayes were an excellent thinge.

Tox. Excellent ſurely. Phi. Then I am ſure thoſe be wyſer men which covet to ſhoot wyde, than thoſe which covet to hit the pricke. Tox. Why ſo, I praye you? Phi. Becauſe to ſhoote wyde is a thinge poſſible, and therefore, as you ſaye yourſelfe, of every wyſe man to be folowed. And as for hittinge the pricke, becauſe it is unpoſſible, it were a vain thinge to go about it in good *ſadneſſe, *Toxophile*; thus you ſee that a man mighte go through all craftes and ſciences, and prove that any man in his ſcience coveteth that which he ſhall never get. Tox. By my trothe (as you ſay) I cannot denye but they do ſo: but why and wherefore they ſhould do ſo, I cannot learne. Phi. I will tell you. Everye crafte and ſcience ſtandeth in two thinges: in knowinge of his crafte, and workinge of his crafte: for perfect knowledge bringeth a man to perfect workinge: This know painters, carvers, taylors, ſhomakers, and all other crafteſmen, to be true. Now, in every crafte there is a perfect excellencye, which may be better known in a mans minde, than followed in a mans dede. This perfectneſſe, becauſe it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore all men, no one particular man is able to compaſſe it: and, as it is general to all men, ſo it is perpetual for all time, which proveth it a thinge for man unpoſſible: although not for the capacitye of our thinckinge, which is heavenlye, yet ſurely for the habilitye of our workinge, which
De Inven. 2. is worldly. God geveth not full perfectneſſe to one man (ſayth *Tullye*) leſt if one man had all in any one ſcience, there ſhould be nothinge left for

*Sadneſſe is *ſeriouſneſs*, or *earneſt*.

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another. Yet God ſuffereth us to have the perfect knowledge of it, that ſuch a knowledge, diligently folowed, might bringe forthe accordinge as a man doth laboure, perfect workinge. And who is he, that, in learninge to wryte, would forſake an excellent example, and followe a worſe? Therefore, ſeinge perfectneſſe itſelfe is an example for us, let every man ſtudye how he may come nye it, which is a point of wyſedome, not reaſon with God why he may not attaine unto it, which is vaine curioſity.

Tox. Surelye this is gaily ſaide, *Philologe*, but yet this one thinge I am afraid of, leaſt this perfectneſſe which you ſpeake on will diſcourage men to take any thinge in hand, becauſe, afore they begin, they know they ſhall never come to an end. And thus diſpayre ſhall diſpatch, even at the firſt entring it, many a good man his purpoſe and intent. And I think both you yourſelfe, and all other men to, would counte it mere follye for a man to tell him whom he teacheth, that he ſhall never obtain that which he would fayneſt learne. And therefore this ſame highe and perfect way of teachinge let us leave it to higher matters, and, as for ſhootinge, it ſhall be contente with a meaner way well enough. Phi Whereas you ſaye that this hye perfectneſſe will diſcourage men, becauſe they knowe they ſhall never attaine unto it, I am ſure, cleane contrarye, there is nothing in the worlde ſhall encourage men more than it. And why? For where a man ſeeth, that though another man be never ſo excellent, yet it is poſſible for himſelfe to be better, what payne or labour will that man refuſe to take? If the game be once wonne, no man will ſet forth his foote to runne. And thus perfectneſſe beinge ſo highe a thinge that men may looke at it, not come to it, and beinge ſo plentifull and indifferent to every body, that the plentifulneſſe of it may provoke all men to labour, becauſe it hath enough for all men, the indifferencye of it ſhall encourage every one to take more payne than his fellow, becauſe every man is rewarded accordinge to his nye comminge, and yet, which is moſt marveile of all, the more men take of it, the more they leave behinde for other, as *Socrates* did in wyſedom, and *Cicero* in eloquence, whereby other hath not lacked, but hath fared a great deale the better. And thus perfectneſſe itſelfe, becauſe it is never obtained, even therefore onlye dothe it cauſe ſo manye men to be well ſeene and perfect in many matters, as they be. But whereas you thincke that it were fondneſſe to teache a man to ſhoote, in lookinge at the moſt perfectneſſe

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in it, but rather would have a man go ſome other waye to worke, I truſt no wyſe man will diſcommend that waye, excepte he thincke himſelfe wyſer than *Tullye*, which doth plainlye ſaye, That, if he teached anye maner of crafte, as he did Rhetoricke, he would labour to
De Orat. 3. bringe a man to the knowledge of the moſt perfectneſſe of it, which knowledge ſhould evermore leade and guide a man to do that thinge well which he went about. Which waye in all maner of learninge to be beſt, *Plato* doth alſo declare in *Euthydemus*, of whom *Tullye* learned it, as he did many other thinges mo. And thus you ſee, *Toxophile*, by what reaſons, and by whoſe authority I do require of you this way in teachinge me to ſhoote; which waye, I praye you, without any delaye, ſhewe me as farre forth as you have noted and marked. Tox. You call me to a thinge, *Philologe*, which I am loth to do, and yet, if I do it not, beinge but a ſmall matter as you thincke, you will lacke friendſhipe in me; if I take it in hande, and not bringe it to paſſe as you would have it, you might thincke greate want of wyſedome in me.

But I advyſe you, ſeeing you will needes have it ſo, the blame ſhall be yours, as well as myne: yours for puttinge uppon me ſo * inſtauntly; myne for receyvinge ſo fondlye a greater burthen than I am able to bear. Therefore I, more willinge to fulfil your minde than hopinge to accompliſhe that which you loke for, ſhall ſpeake of it, not as a maiſter of ſhootinge, but as one not altogether ignorant in ſhootinge. And one thing I am glad of, the ſunne drawinge down ſo faſt into the Weſt ſhall compell me to drawe apace to the ende of our matter, ſo that his darkneſſe ſhall ſomething cloke myne ignoraunce.

And becauſe you knowe the orderinge of a matter better than I, aſke me generallye of it, and I ſhall particularly anſwere to it. Phi. Very gladly, *Toxophile:* for ſo by order thoſe thinges which I would know, you ſhall tell the better; and thoſe thinges which you ſhall tell, I ſhall remember the better.

* So importunately.

The End of the Firſt Booke of the Schole of Shootinge.

TOXO-

TOXOPHILUS.

B.

The SECONDE BOOKE of the SCHOLE of SHOOTINGE.

TOXOPHILUS. PHILOLOGUS.

PHI. WHAT is the chiefe pointe in ſhootinge, that every man laboureth to come to? TOX. To hit the marke. PHI. How manye thinges are required to make a man evermore hit the marke? TOX. Two. PHI. Which two? TOX. Shootinge ſtreighte, and kepinge of a lengthe. PHI. How ſhould a man ſhoote ſtreight, and how ſhould a man keep a lengthe? TOX. In knowinge and havinge thinges belonging to ſhootinge; and when they be knowen and had in well handlinge of them; whereof ſome belonge to ſhootinge ſtreight, ſome to kepinge of a lengthe, ſome commonlye to them both, as ſhall be tolde ſeverallye of them in place convenient.

PHI. Thinges belonginge to ſhootinge, which be they?

TOX. * All thinges be outwarde; and ſome be inſtrumentes for every † ſere archer to bringe with him, proper for his owne uſe: other thinges be general to every man, as the place and time ſerveth. PHI. Which be inſtrumentes? TOX. Bracer, ſhootinge glove, ſtringe, bowe,

* The inſtruments of ſhooting are *external*.
† *Sere* is ſeveral or particular.

and

and ſhafte. PHI. Which be general to all men? TOX. The weather and the marke, yet the marke is ever under the rule of the weather. PHI. Wherein ſtandeth well handlinge of thinges? TOX. Alltogether within a man himſelfe, ſome handlinge is proper to inſtrumentes, ſome to the wether, ſome to the marke, ſome is within a man himſelfe. PHI. What handlinge is proper to the inſtrumentes? TOX. Standinge, nockinge, drawinge, holdinge, lowſinge, whereby commeth fayre ſhootinge, which neyther belonge to winde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a raine and at no marke, a man may ſhoote a fayre ſhote. PHI. Well ſayd, what handlinge belongeth to the wether? TOX. Knowinge of his winde, with him, againſt him, ſyde winde, full ſyde winde, ſyde winde quarter with him, ſyde winde quarter againſt him, and ſo forthe. PHI. Well then go to, what handlinge belongeth to the marke? TOX. To marke his ſtandinge, to ſhoote compaſſe, to drawe evermore like, to louſe evermore like, to conſider the nature of the pricke, in hilles and dales, in ſtrayte plaines and windinge places, and alſo to eſpye his marke. PHI. Very well done. And what is only within a man himſelfe? TOX. Good heede gevinge, and avoydinge all affections: which thinges oftentimes do marre and make all. And theſe thinges ſpoken of me generally and briefly, if they be well knowen, had, and handled, ſhall bringe a man to ſuche ſhootinge, as fewe or none ever yet came unto, but ſurely if he miſſe in anye one of them, he can never hitte the marke, and in the more he doth miſſe, the farther he ſhooteth from his marke. But, as in all other matters, the firſt ſteppe or ſtayre to be good, is to knowe a mans faulte, and then to amende it, and he that will not knowe his faulte, ſhall never amende it. PHI. You ſpeake nowe, *Toxophile*, even as I woulde have you to ſpeake; but let us returne againe unto our matter, and thoſe thinges which you have packed up in ſo ſhort a roume, we will louſe them forth, and take every piece, as it were, in our hande, and loke more narrowlye upon it.

TOX. I am content, but we will rydde them as faſt as we can, becauſe the ſunne goeth ſo faſt downe, and yet ſomewhat muſt needes be ſayd of every one of them. PHI. Well ſaid, and I trowe we beganne with thoſe thinges which be inſtrumentes, whereof the firſt, as I ſuppoſe, was the bracer.

TOX.

Tox. Little is to be ſayd of the bracer. A * bracer ſerveth for two cauſes, one to ſave his arme from the ſtrype of the ſtringe, and his doublet from wearing; and the other is, that the ſtringe glidinge ſharplye and quicklye of the bracer, maye make the ſharper ſhoote. For if the ſtringe ſhoulde lighte upon the bare ſleve, the ſtrengthe of the ſhoote ſhould ſtoppe and dye there. But it is beſte, by my judgmente, to geve the bowe ſo muche bent, that the ſtringe neede never touche a mans arme, and ſo ſhoulde a man neede no bracer, as I knowe many good archers which occupye none. In a bracer a man muſt take hede of three thinges, that it have no nayles in it, that it have no buckles, that it be faſt on with laces without agglettes. For the nayles will ſheere in ſunder a mans ſtringe before he be ware, and ſo put his bowe in jeopardye: buckles and agglettes at unawares, ſhall race his bowe, a thinge both evill for the ſighte, and perillous for freatinge. And thus a bracer is only had for this purpoſe, that the ſtringe maye have redye paſſage. Bracer.

Phi. In my bracer I am cunninge enoughe, but what ſay you of the ſhootinge glove? Tox. A ſhootinge glove is chieflye for to ſave a mans fingers from hurtinge, that he maye be able to beare the ſharpe ſtringe to the uttermoſte of his ſtrengthe. And when a man ſhooteth, the might of his ſhoote lyeth on the foremoſt finger, and on the ringman, for the middle finger, which is the longeſt, like a lubber, ſtarteth backe, and beareth no weight of the ſtringe in a manner at all, therefore the two other fingers muſt have thicker leather, and that muſt have thickeſt of all, whereon a man lowſeth moſt, and for ſure lowſinge, the formoſt finger is moſt apt, becauſe it holdeſt beſt, and for that purpoſe, nature hath, as a man would ſay, yocked it with the thoumbe. Leather, if it be next a mans ſkinne, will ſweate, waxe harde and chafe, therefore ſcarlet, for the ſoftneſſe of it and thickneſſe withall, is good to ſewe within a mannes glove. If that will not ſerve, but your finger hurteth, you muſt take a ſearing cloth, made of fine virgin waxe, and deres ſewet, and put next your finger, and ſo on with your glove. If yet you feele your finger pinched, leave ſhootinge, both becauſe then you ſhall ſhoote nought, and againe by little and little, hurtinge your finger, ye ſhall make it longe and longe to or you ſhoote Shootinge glove.

* Thoſe who write of things well known, ſeldom extend their care to time in which they may be known leſs. This account of the *bracer* is ſomewhat obſcure. It ſeems to have been a kind of cloſe ſleeve laced upon the left arm.

againe. A newe glove pluckes manye ſhootes, becauſe the ſtringe goeth not frelye of, and therefore the fingers muſt be cutte ſhorte, and trimmed with ſome ointment, that the ſtringe maye glyde well away. Some with holding in the nocke of their ſhafte harde, rubbe the ſkinne of their fingers. For this there be two remedyes, one to have a gooſe quill * ſpinetted and ſewed againſt the nockinge, betwixt the lyninge and the leather, which ſhall helpe the ſhoote much to; the other way is to have ſome roule of leather ſewed betwixt his fingers, at the ſettinge on of the fingers, which ſhall kepe his fingers ſo in ſunder, that they ſhall not holde the nocke ſo faſt as they did. The ſhootinge glove hath a purſe, which ſhall ſerve to put fine linen clothe and waxe in, two neceſſarye thinges for a ſhooter. Some men uſe gloves, or other ſuch like thinge on theyr bow-hand for chafinge, becauſe they hold ſo hard. But that cometh commonly when a bow is not round, but ſomewhat ſquare; fine waxe ſhall do verye well in ſuch a caſe to lay where a man holdeth his bow: and thus much as concerninge your glove.

And theſe thinges, although they be trifles, yet becauſe you be but a yonge ſhooter, I would not leave them out. PHI. And ſo you
Stringe. ſhall do me moſt pleaſure. The ſtringe, I trowe, be the next.
TOX. The next indeede; a thinge thoughe it be litle, yet not a litle to be regarded. But herein you muſt be content to put your truſt in honeſt ſtringers. And ſurelye ſtringers ought more diligentlye to be loked upon by the officers, than eyther bower or fletcher, becauſe they may deceyve a ſimple man the more eaſelyer. An ill ſtringe breaketh many a good bowe, nor no other thinge halfe ſo manye. In warre, if a ſtringe breake the man is loſt, and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and although he have two ſtringes put on at once, yet he ſhall have ſmall leaſure and leſſe roume to bende his bowe, therefore God ſend us good ſtringers both for warre and peace. Now what a ſtringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe, as they do nowe a dayes, or of flaxe, or of ſilke, I leave that to the judgement of ſtringers, of whom we muſt buy them. *Euſtathius*, upon this verſe of
Euſtathius. *Homer*,

Iliad 4. † *Twang the bowe, and twang the ſtring, out quicklie the ſhaft flue:*

doth tell, that, in oulde time, they made theyr bowe ſtringes of bullox

* *Spinetted* is perhaps *ſlit* and *opened*.
† Perhaps this line ſhould ſtand thus,
'Twang the bow, and twang *went* the ſtring, out quickly the ſhaft flue.'

thermes,

thermes, which they twined together as they do ropes, and therefore they made a greate twange. Bow ſtringes alſo hath bene made of the heare of an horſe tayle, called, for the matter of them, *Hippias*, as doth appeare in manye good authors of the *Greeke* tongue. Great ſtringes and litle ſtringes be for divers purpoſes: the great ſtring is more ſurer for the bowe, more ſtable to pricke withall, but ſlower for the caſt. The litle ſtring is cleane contrarye, not ſo ſure, therefore to be taken heede of, leſt with longe taryinge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to ſhoote farre, than apt to pricke neare, therefore when you know the nature of both bigge and litle, you muſt fit your bowe accordinge to the occaſion of your ſhootinge. In ſtringinge of your bowe (though this place belonge rather to the handlinge than to the thinge itſelfe, yet becauſe the thinge, and the handlinge of the thinge, be ſo joyned together, I muſt needes ſometimes couple the one with the other) you muſt marke the fit length of your bowe. For, if the ſtringe be too ſhorte, the bendinge will geve, and at the laſt ſlyp, and ſo put the bowe in jeopardye. If it be longe, the bendinge muſt nedes be in the ſmall of the ſtringe, which beinge ſore twyned, muſt needes knap in ſunder, to the deſtruction of manye good bowes. Moreover, you muſt looke that your bowe be well nocked, for feare the ſharpneſſe of the horne ſhere aſunder the ſtringe. And that chaunceth oft when in bending, the ſtringe hath but one way to ſtrength it withall. You muſt marke alſo to ſet your ſtringe ſtreighte on, or els the one ende ſhall wrieth contrarye to the other, and ſo breake your bowe. When the ſtringe beginneth never ſo litle to weare, truſt it not, but away with it, for it is an yll ſaved halfpeny, that coſtes a man a crowne. Thus you ſee how many jeopardyes hangeth over the ſelye poore bow, by reaſon onlye of the ſtringe. As when the ſtringe is ſhorte, when it is longe, when eyther of the nockes be noughte, when it hath but one way, and when it taryeth over longe on. Favorinus.

Phi. I ſee well it is no marveile, though ſo many bowes be broken. Tox. Bowes be broken twyſe as many wayes beſyde theſe. But againe in ſtringinge your bowe, you muſt loke for much bende or litle bende, for they be cleane contrarye. The litle bende hath but one commoditye, which is in ſhootinge faſter, and farther ſhoote, and the cauſe thereof is, becauſe the ſtringe hath ſo farre a paſſage, or it part with the ſhaft. The great bende hath

* *Thermes* or *tharms* are guts.

many commodities: for it maketh eaſyer ſhooting, the bow beinge half drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the ſtringe ſtoppeth before it come at the arme. I will not ſo ſone hit a mans ſleve or other geare, by the ſame reaſon. It hurteth not the ſhaft fether, as the low bend doth. It ſuffereth a man better to eſpie his marke. Therefore let your bowe have good bigge bende, a ſhaftment and two fingers at the leaſt, for theſe which I have ſpoken of.

Bowe.

PHI. The bracer, glove, and ſtringe, be done, nowe you muſt come to the bowe, the chiefe inſtrument of all. TOX. Dyvers countryes and tymes have uſed alwayes dyvers bowes, and of dyvers faſhions. Horne bowes are uſed in ſome places now, and were uſed alſo in *Homerus* dayes, for *Pandarus* bowe, the beſt ſhooter amonge all the *Troyans*, was made of two goate hornes joyned together, the lengthe whereof, ſayth *Homer*, was ſixteen hand-bredes, not farre differinge from the lengthe of our bowes. Scripture maketh mention of braſſe bowes. Iron bowes, and ſtele bowes, have bene of longe time, and alſo now are uſed among the *Turkes*, but yet they muſt nedes be unprofitable. For if braſſe, iron, or ſtele, have their owne ſtrengthe and pithe in them, they be farrre above mans ſtrengthe: if they be made meete for mans ſtrengthe, theyr pithe is nothinge worth to ſhoote any ſhoote withall. The *Ethiopians* had bowes of palme tree, which ſeemed to be very ſtronge, but we have none experience of them. The length of them was four cubites. The men of *Inde* had theyr bowes made of a rede, which was of a great ſtrength. And no marveile thoughe bowe and ſhaftes were made thereof, for the redes be ſo greate in *Inde*, as *Herodotus* ſayth, that of everye joynte of a rede a man may make a fiſhers bote. Theſe bowes, ſayth *Arrianus* in *Alexanders* life, gave ſo greate a ſtroke, that no harneſſe or buckler, thoughe it were never ſo ſtronge, could withſtande it. The length of ſuch a bowe was even with the length of him that uſed it. The *Lycians* uſed bowes made of a tree, called in *Latine Cornus*, (as concerninge the name of it in *Engliſhe*, I can ſoner prove that other men call it falſe, than I can tell the right name of it myſelfe) this wodde is as harde as horne, and verye fitte for ſhaftes, as ſhall be toulde after. *Ovid* ſheweth that *Syrinx* the *Nymphe*, and one of the maydens of *Diana*, had a bowe of this wodde, whereby the poet meaneth, that it was very excellent to make bowes of.

Iliad. 4.

Pſalme 17.

Hera. in Pol.

In Thal.

Arrianus 8.

In Polym.

Metam. 1.

As

As for Braſell, Elme, Wych, and Aſhe, experience doth prove them to be but meane for bowes, and ſo to conclude, Ewe of all other thinges is that, whereof perfite ſhootinge would have a bowe made. This wodde, as it is nowe generall and common amonges *Engliſhmen*, ſo hath it continued from long time, and had in moſt price for bowes, amonges the *Romaines*, as doth appeare in this halfe verſe of *Virgill*.

Taxi torquentur in arcus. Virgilius.

Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.

Nowe, as I ſaye, a bowe of Ewe muſt be made for perfecte ſhootinge at the prickes, which marke, becauſe it is certaine, and moſt certaine rules may be geven of it, ſhall ſerve for our communication at this time. A good bowe is knowen, much what as good counſayle is knowen, by the ende and profite of it; yet both a bowe and good counſayle may be made both better and worſe, by well or ill handlinge of them, as oftentimes chaunceth. And as a man both muſt and will take counſayle of a wyſe and honeſt man, though he ſee not the ende of it; ſo muſt a ſhooter, of neceſſitye, truſt an honeſt and good bowyer for a bowe, afore he knowe the proofe of it. And as a wyſe man will take plenty of counſayle aforehande, whatſoever neede, ſo a ſhooter ſhould have alwayes three or four bowes in ſtore, whatſoever chaunce. Phi. But if I truſt bowyers alwayes, ſometimes I am like to be deceyved. Tox. Therefore ſhall I tell you ſome tokens in a bowe, that you ſhall be the ſeldomer deceyved. If you come into a ſhoppe, and find a bowe that is ſmall, longe, heavye, and ſtronge, lyinge ſtreighte, not windinge, not marred with knotte gaule, winde ſhake, wem, freat or pinch, bye that bowe of my warrante. The beſte colour of a bowe that I finde, is when the backe and the bellye in workinge be much what after one maner, for ſuch oftentimes in wearinge do prove like virgin waxe or golde, havinge a fine longe graine, even from the one ende of the bowe to the other; the ſhorte graine, although ſuch prove well ſometimes, are for the moſt part very brittle. Of the makinge of the bowe, I will not greatly meddle, leſt I ſhould ſeeme to enter into an other mans occupation, which I cannot ſkill of. Yet I would deſyre all bowyers to ſeaſon theyr ſtaves well, to work them and ſynke them well,

to

to geve them heetes conveniente, and * tylleringes plentye. For thereby they ſhould both gette themſelves a good name, (and a good name encreaſeth a mans profite muche) and alſo do great commoditye to the hole realme. If anye man do offende in this poynte, I am afraid they be thoſe journeymen, which laboure more ſpedelye to make many bowes for their moneye ſake, than they work diligentlye to make good bowes, for the common wealth ſake, not layinge before theyr eyes this wyſe proverbe, *Sone enoughe, if well enoughe*; wherewith every honeſt handy craftes man ſhould meaſure, as it were with a rule, his worke withall. He that is a journeyman, and rydeth upon another mans horſe, if he ryde an honeſt pace, no man will diſalowe him: but if he make poſte haſte, both he that owneth the horſe, and he peradventure alſo that afterward ſhall bye the horſe, may chaunce to curſe him. Such haſtineſſe, I am afrayde, may alſo be founde amonges ſome of them, which throughe oute the realme, in divers places, worke the Kinges artillerye for warre, thinking, if they get a bow or a ſheafe of arrowes to ſome faſhion, they be good enough for bearing gere. And thus that weapon, which is the chiefe defence of the realme, verye oft doth little ſervice to him that ſhould uſe it, becauſe it is ſo negligently wrought of him that ſhould make it, when trulye I ſuppoſe that neither the bowe can be too good and chiefe woode, nor yet too well ſeaſoned or truly made, with hetinges and tilleringes, neither that ſhafte too good wodde, or too thorowly wroughte, with the beſt pinion fethers that can be gotten, wherewith a man ſhall ſerve his Prince, defende his countrye, and ſave himſelfe from his enemye. And I truſt no man will be angrye with me for ſpeakinge thus, but thoſe which finde themſelves touched therein: which ought rather to be angrye with themſelves for doinge, than to be miſcontent with me for ſayinge ſo. And in no caſe they ought to be diſpleaſed with me, ſeeinge this is ſpoken alſo after that ſort, not for the notinge of any perſon ſeverallye, but for the amendinge of everye one generallye.

But turne we againe to know a good ſhootinge bowe for our purpoſe. Everye bow is made eyther of a boughe, of a plante, or of the boole of the tree. The boughe commonlye is very knottye, and full of pinnes, weake, of ſmall pithe, and ſone will folowe the ſtringe, and ſeldome werith to anye fayre coloure, yet for children and yong beginners it may ſerve well

* *Tylleringe* is a word of art which I do not underſtand.

enough.

enough. The plant proveth many times well, if it be of a good and cleane groweth, and, for the pithe of it, is quicke enoughe of caſt, it will plye and bowe farre before it breake, as all other yonge thinges do. The boole of the tree is cleaneſt without knot or pin, having a faſt and harde wodde, by reaſon of his full groweth, ſtrong and mightye of caſte, and beſt for a bowe, if the ſtaves be even cloven, and be afterwarde wrought, not overthwart the woode, but as the graine and ſtreight growinge of the woode leadeth a man, or els, by all reaſon, it muſt ſone breake, and that in many ſhivers. This muſt be conſidered in the roughe woode, and when the bowe ſtaves be over wroughte and faſhioned. For in dreſſinge and pykinge it up for a bowe, it is too late to loke for it.

But yet in theſe pointes, as I ſayde before, you muſt truſt an honeſte bowyer, to put a good bowe in your hand, ſomewhat lokinge yourſelfe to thoſe tokens I ſhewed you. And you muſt not ſticke for a grote or twelve pence more than another man would geve, if it be a good bowe. For a good bowe twiſe paid for, is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a ſhooter muſt begin, not at the makinge of his bowe, like a bowyer, but at the byinge of his bowe, like an archer. And, when his bowe is boughte and broughte home, afore he truſt much upon it, let him trye and trimme it after this ſort.

Take your bowe into the fielde, ſhoote in him, ſincke him with deade heavye ſhaftes, looke where he cometh moſte, provide for that place betimes, leaſt it pinche, and ſo freate: when you have thus ſhotte in him, and perceyved good ſhootinge woode in him, you muſt have him againe to a good, cunninge, and truſty workman, which ſhall cutte him ſhorter, and pike him and dreſſe him fitter, make him come round compaſſe every where, and whipping at the endes, but with diſcretion, leaſt he whippe in ſunder, or els freete, ſoner than he is ware of: he muſt alſo laye him ſtreight, if he be caſte, or otherwiſe neede requyre, and if he be flatte made, gather him rounde, and ſo ſhall he both ſhoote the faſter, for farre ſhootinge, and alſo be ſurer for near prickinge. PHI. What if I come into a ſhoppe, and ſpye out a bowe, which ſhall both then pleaſe me very well when I bye him,

and be alſo very fitte and meete for me when I ſhoote in him: ſo that he be both weak enoughe for eaſy ſhootinge, alſo quicke and ſpeedye enoughe for farre caſtinge, then, I would thincke, I ſhall neede no more buſineſs with him, but be content with him, and uſe him well enoughe, and ſo, by that means, avoyde both great trouble, and alſo ſome coſt, which you cunninge archers very often put yourſelves unto, beinge verye *Engliſhmen*, never ceaſinge piddeling about theyr bowe and ſhaftes, when they be well, but eyther with ſhortinge and pykinge your bowes, or els with newe featheringe, peecinge and headinge your ſhaftes, can never have done untill they be ſtarke noughte. Tox. Well, *Philologe*, ſurelye if I have any judgmente at all in ſhootinge, it is no very great good taken in a bow, whereof nothinge when it is new and freſh neede be cutte away, even as *Cicero* ſayth of a younge mans witte and ſtyle, which you know better than I. For every newe thinge muſt alwayes have more than it needeth, or els it will not waxe better and better, but ever decaye, and be worſe and worſe. Newe ale, if it runne not over the barrel when it is newe tunned, will ſone leaſe his * pithe, and his heade afore he be longe drawen on. And likewyſe as that colte, which, at the firſt takinge up, needeth litle breakinge and handlinge, but is fitte and gentle enoughe for the ſaddle, ſeldome or never proveth well: even ſo that bowe, which at the firſt byinge, without any more proof and trimminge, is fitte and eaſye to ſhoote in, ſhall neyther be profitable to laſte longe, nor yet pleaſant to ſhoote well. And therefore as a young horſe full of courage, with handlinge and breakinge, is brought unto a ſure pace and goinge, ſo ſhall a newe bowe, freſh and quick of caſte, by ſinking and cutting, be broughte to a ſtedfaſt ſhootinge. And an eaſy and gentle bowe, when it is newe, is not much unlike a ſoft ſpirited boye, when he is younge. But yet, as of an unrulye boye with righte handlinge, proveth ofteneſt of all a well ordered man: ſo of an unfit and ſtaffiſhe bowe, with good trimminge, muſt nedes folowe alwayes a ſtedfaſt ſhootinge bowe. And ſuche a perfite bowe, which never will deceive a man, excepte a man deceyve it, muſt be had for that perfecte ende, which you loke for in ſhootinge.

Phi. Well, *Toxophile*, I ſee well you be cunninger in this gere than I: but put the caſe that I have three or foure ſuch good

* *Pithe* is ſtrength, ſpritelineſs, vigour, power of action.

bowes,

bowes, pyked and dreſſed as you now ſpeake of, yet I do remember that many learned men do ſay, that it is eaſyer to get a good thinge, than to ſave and kepe a good thinge, wherefore, if thou can teach me as concerninge that point, you have ſatisfyed me plentifullye, as concerninge a bowe.

Tox. Trulye it was the next thinge that I would have come unto, for ſo the matter laye. When you have brought your bowe to ſuch a pointe, as I ſpake of, then you muſt have a harden or wullen cloth waxed, wherewith every daye you muſt rubbe and chafe your bowe, till it ſhyne and glitter withall. Which thinge ſhall cauſe it both to be cleane, well favoured, goodlye of coloure, and ſhall alſo bringe, as it were, a cruſte over it, that is to ſaye, ſhall make it everye where on the out ſyde, ſo ſlipperye and harde, that neyther anye weete or weather can enter to hurte it, nor yet anye freate, or pinche, be able to byte upon it: but that you ſhall do it greate wronge before you breake it. This muſt be done oftentimes, but eſpecially when you come from ſhootinge.

Beware alſo when you ſhoote of your ſhafte heades, dagger, knyves, or agglettes, leſt they race your bowe, a thinge, as I ſayde before, both unſemelye to loke on, and alſo daungerous for freates. Take heede alſo of miſtye and dankinſhe dayes, which ſhall hurt a bowe more than anye rayne. For then you muſt eyther alwaye rubbe it, or els leave ſhootinge.

Your bowe caſe (this I did not promiſe to ſpeake of, becauſe it is without the nature of ſhootinge, or els I ſhould trouble me with other thinges infinite more: yet ſeinge it is a ſavegarde for the bowe, ſome thinge I will ſaye of it) your bowe caſe, I ſaye, if you ryde forthe, muſt neyther be to wyde for your bowes, for ſo ſhall one clappe uppon an other, and hurt them, nor yet ſo ſtrayte that ſcarce they can be thruſt in, for that would lay them on ſyde, and wynde them. A bow caſe of lether is not the beſt, for that is oft times moyſt, which hurteth the bowes very much. Bowe caſe.

Therefore I have ſeene good ſhooters which would have for everye bowe a ſere caſe, made of wullen clothe, and then you maye putte three or four of them ſo caſed, into a lether caſe if you will. This wullen

caſe ſhall both kepe them in ſunder, and alſo will kepe a bowe in his full ſtrength, that it never geve for anye weather.

At home theſe * woode caſes be verye good for bowes to ſtande in. But take hede that your bowe ſtande not to nere a ſtone wall, for that will make him moyſt and weake, nor yet to neare anye fyre, for that will make him ſhorte and brittle. And thus much as concerninge the ſavinge and keepinge of our bowe: now you ſhall heare what thinges ye muſt avoyde, for fear of breakinge your bowe.

A ſhooter chaunceth to breake his bowe commonlye four wayes, by the ſtringe, by the ſhaft, by drawinge to farre, and by freates. By the ſtringe, as I ſayd afore, when the ſtringe is eyther to ſhort, to long, not ſurelye put on, with one wappe, or juſt croked on, or ſhorne in ſunder with an evill nocke, or ſuffered to tarye over long on. When the ſtringe fayles the bowe muſt needes breake, and ſpeciallye in the middes: becauſe both the endes have nothinge to ſtoppe them: but whippes ſo farre backe, that the bellye muſt needes violently riſe up, the which you ſhall well perceyve in bendinge of a bowe backewarde. Therefore a bowe that foloweth the ſtringe is leaſt hurte with breakinge of ſtringes.

By the ſhaft a bow is broken eyther when it is to ſhort, and ſo you ſet it in your bowe, or when the nocke breakes for litleneſſe, or when the ſtringe ſlippes without the nocke for wydeneſſe, then you pull it to your eare and lettes it go, which muſt needes breake the ſhaft at the leaſt, and put ſtringe and bow and all in jeopardye, becauſe the ſtrength of the bowe hath nothinge in it to ſtoppe the violence of it. This kinde of breakinge is moſt perillous for the ſtanders by, for in ſuch a caſe you ſhall ſee ſome time the ende of a bow flye a hoole ſcore from a man, and that moſt commonly, as I have marked oft, the upper ende of the bowe.

The bow is drawne to farre two wayes. Eyther when you take a longer ſhaft then your owne, or els when you ſhift your hande to lowe or to hye for ſhootinge farre. This waye pulleth the backe in ſunder, and then the bowe fleeth in many peces.

* There is no mention of wooden caſes before, therefore it ſhould perhaps be *wool caſes*, unleſs ſomething be left out by the printer.

So when you ſee a bowe broken, havinge the bellye riſen uppe both wayes or to one, the ſtringe brake it. When it is broken in two peces, in a maner even of, and ſpeciallye in the upper ende, the ſhaft nocke brake it. When the backe is pulled aſunder in many peces, to farre drawinge brake it. Theſe tokens eyther alwayes be true, or els very ſeldome miſſe.

The fourthe thinge that breaketh a bowe is freates, which make a bowe redye and apt to breake by any of the three wayes afore ſayde. Freates be in a ſhaft as well as in a bowe, and they be much like a canker, creepinge and encreaſinge in thoſe places in a bowe, which be weaker then other. And for this purpoſe muſt your bowe be well trimmed and pyked of a cunninge man, that it maye come rounde in compaſſe everye where. For freates you muſt beware, if your bow have a knot in the backe, leſt the places which be next it, be not alowed ſtronge enoughe to bere with the knot, or els the ſtronge knot ſhall freate the weake places next it. Freates be firſt litle pinches, the which when you perceave, pike the places about the pinches, to make them ſomewhat weaker, and as well comminge as where it pinched, and ſo the pinches ſhall dye, and never encreaſe farther into freates. Freates.

Freates begin many times in a pinne, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it muſt nedes be weake, and becauſe it is weake, therefore it freates. Good bowyers therefore do raiſe every pinne, and alowe it more woode for feare of freatinge.

Againe, bowes moſt commonly freate underthe hand, not ſo much as ſome men ſuppoſe for the moiſtneſſe of the hand, as for the heate of the hand. The nature of the heat, ſayth *Ariſtotle*, is to looſe, and not to knitte faſt, and the more looſer the more weaker, the more weaker the redier to freate.

A bowe is not well made, which hath not woode plentye in the hande. For if the endes of the bowe be ſtiffiſhe, or a mans hand any thinge hote, the bellye muſt nedes ſone frete. Remedye for freates to any purpoſe I never harde tell of anye, but only to make the freated place as ſtrong, or ſtronger, than anye other. To fill up the freate with litle ſhevers of a quill and glewe, as ſome ſaye will do well, by reaſon muſt be ſtarke nought. For, put the caſe the freate did ceaſe then, yet

the cauſe which made it freate afore, (and that is weakneſſe of the place) becauſe it is not taken away, muſt needes make it freate againe. As for cuttinge out of freates, with all maner of peecinge of bowes, I will cleane exclude from perfite ſhootinge. For peeced bowes be much like ould houſen, which be more chargeable to repayre then commodious to dwell in. And againe, to ſwadle a bowe much about with bandes, verye ſeldome doth anye good, excepte it be to keepe down a ſpell in the backe, otherwiſe bandes eyther nede not, when the bowe is any thing worthe, or els boote not, when it is marde and paſt beſt. And although I know mean and poore ſhooters will uſe peeced and banded bowes ſometimes, becauſe they are not able to get better when they would, yet, I am ſure, if they would conſider it well, they ſhall find it both leſſe charge and more pleaſure, to beſtowe at any time a couple of ſhillinges of a newe bowe, than to beſtowe ten pence of peecing an ould bowe. For better is coſte upon ſomewhat worth, than ſpence upon nothinge worth. And this I ſpeake alſo, becauſe you would have me referre all to perfiteneſſe in ſhootinge.

Moreover there is another thinge, which will ſone cauſe a bowe to be broken by one of the three wayes which be firſt ſpoken of, and that is ſhootinge in * Winter, when there is anye froſt. Froſt is whereſoever is any wateriſhe humour, as is in woodes, eyther more or leſſe, and you knowe that all thinges froſen and iſie will rather breake than bende. Yet, if a man muſt needes ſhoote at any ſuch time, let him take his bowe and bring it to the fire, and there, by little and little, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, which ſhall bringe it to that point, that he maye ſhoote ſafely enough in it. This rubbing with waxe, as I ſayde before, is a greate ſuccour againſt all wete and moyſtneſſe. In the fieldes alſo, in goinge betwixt the prickes, eyther with your hand, or els with a cloth, you muſt kepe your bowe in ſuch a temper.

And thus much as concerninge your bowe, howe firſt to knowe what woode is beſt for a bowe, then to choſe a bowe, after to trimme a bowe, againe to kepe it in goodneſſe, laſt of all, how to ſave it from all harme and evilneſſe. And although many men can ſaye more of a bowe, yet I truſt

* *Boyle* ſomewhere mentions a *Pole*, who related that the cold of his countries winters broke his bow.

theſe

theſe thinges be true, and almoſt ſufficient for the knowledge of a perfect bowe.

PHI. Surelye I believe ſo, and yet I could have heard you talke longer on it: although I cannot ſee what may be ſayd more of it. Therefore, excepte you will pauſe a while, you may go forwarde to a ſhaft.

TOX. What ſhaftes were made of, in ould time, authors do not ſo manifeſtly ſhewe, as of bowes. *Herodotus* doth tell, that in the floude of *Nilus* there was a beaſte, called a Water Horſe, of whoſe ſkin, after it was dryed, the *Egyptians* made ſhaftes and dartes. The tree called *Cornus* was ſo common to make ſhaftes of, that, in good authors of the *Latine* tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a ſhafte, as in *Seneca*, and that place of *Virgill*,

Shaftes.

Herod. Euterp.

Sen. Hipp.

Volat itala cornus.

Virg. En. 9.

Yet, of all thinges that ever I marked of ould authors, eyther *Greeke* or *Latine*, for ſhaftes to be made of, there is nothinge ſo common as reedes. *Herodotus*, in deſcribinge the mightye hoaſt of *Xerxes*, doth tell, that three greate countryes uſed ſhaftes made of a rede, the *Ethiopians*, the *Lycians*, (whoſe ſhaftes lacked fethers, whereat I marveile moſt of all) and the men of *Inde*. The ſhaftes of *Inde* were very longe, a yarde and an halfe, as *Arrianus* doth ſaye, or, at the leaſt, a yarde, as *Q. Curtius* doth ſaye, and therefore they gave the greater ſtrype, but yet, becauſe they were ſo longe, they were the more unhanſome, and leſſe profitable to the men of *Inde*, as *Curtius* doth tell.

In Polym.

Arrianus. 8.

Q. Curt. 8.

In *Crete* and *Italy* they uſed to have theyr ſhaftes of reede alſo. The beſt reede for ſhaftes grew in *Inde*, and in *Rhenus*, a floud of *Italye*. But, becauſe ſuch ſhaftes be neyther eaſye for *Engliſhemen* to get, and, if they were gotten, ſcarce profitable for them to uſe, I will let them paſſe, and ſpeake of thoſe ſhaftes which *Engliſhemen*, at this daye, moſt commonly do approve and allowe. A ſhaft hath three principall parts, the ſtele, the fethers, and the head: whereof every one muſt be ſeverallye ſpoken of.

Plin. 16. 36.

Steles be made of divers woodes: as,

Braſell,

Braſell,	Serviſtree,
Turkie Woode,	Hulder,
Fuſticke,	Blackthorne,
Sugercheſte,	Beche,
Hardbeame,	Elder,
Byrche,	Aſpe,
Aſhe,	Salowe.
Oake,	

Theſe woodes, as they be moſt commonly uſed, ſo they be moſt fit to be uſed: yet ſome one fitter then an other for divers mens ſhootinge, as ſhall be told afterward. And in this pointe, as in a bowe, you muſt truſte an honeſt fletcher. Nevertheleſſe, although I cannot teach you to make a bowe or a ſhaft, which belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to come to theyr lyving, yet will I ſhewe you ſome tokens to know a bowe and a ſhafte, which pertayneth to an archer to come to good ſhootinge.

A ſtele muſt be well * ſeaſoned for caſtinge, and it muſt be made as the graine lyeth, and as it groweth, or els it will never flye cleane, as clothe cut overthwart, and againſt the wull, can never hooſe a man cleane. A knotty ſtele may be ſuffered in a bigge ſhaft, but for a little ſhaft it is nothing fit, both becauſe it will never flye farre, and, beſides that, it is ever in danger of breaking, it flyeth not farre becauſe the ſtrength of the ſhoote is hindered and ſtopped at the knot, even as a ſtone caſt into a plaine even ſtill water, will make the water move a great ſpace, yet, if there be any whirlinge plat in the water, the moving ceaſeth when it cometh at the whirling plat, which is not much unlike a knot in a ſhaft, if it be conſidered well. So every thing as it is plaine and ſtraight of his own nature, ſo it is fitteſt for farre movinge. Therefore a ſtele which is harde to ſtand in a bowe without knot, and ſtreighte, (I mean not artificiallye ſtreight as the fletcher doth make it, but naturallye ſtreighte as it groweth in the woode) is beſt to make a ſhafte of, eyther to go cleane, flye farre, or ſtande ſurely in anye weather.

Now how bigge, how ſmall, how heavye, how light, how long, how ſhort, a ſhaft ſhould be particularly for every man, ſeeing we muſt

* *Seaſoned for caſting*, that is, well ſeaſoned to hinder it from warping.

talke

talke of the general nature of ſhootinge, can not be toulde no more than you Rhetoricians can appoint anye one kind of wordes, of ſentences, of figures, fit for everye matter, but even as the man and the matter requyreth, ſo the fitteſt to be uſed. Therefore, as concerninge thoſe contraryes in a ſhaft, everye man muſt avoyde them, and drawe to the meane of them, which mean is beſt in all thinges. Yet if a man happen to offende in any of the extremes, it is better to offende in want and ſcantneſſe, than in to much and outragious excedinge. As it is better to have a ſhaft a litle to ſhort than over longe, ſomewhat to light, than over lumpiſhe, a litle to ſmal, than a greate deale to big, which thinge is not only truly ſayde in ſhootinge, but in all other thinges that ever man goeth about, as in eatinge, taulkinge, and all other thinges like, which matter was once excellentlye diſputed upon, in the ſcholes, you know when.

And to offende, in theſe contraryes, commeth much, if men take not heede, throughe the kinde of woode, whereof the ſhaft is made; for ſome woode belonges to that exceedinge part, ſome to the ſcant part, ſome to the meane, as Braſell, Turkie woode, Fuſticke, Sugar cheſte, and ſuch like, make dead, heavye, lumpiſhe, hobbling ſhaftes. Againe, Hulder, Blacke thorne, Serveſtree, Beeche, Elder, Aſpe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr weakneſs or lightneſſe, make holow, ſtarting, ſcudding, gaddinge ſhaftes. But Birche, Hardbeame, ſome Oake, and ſome Aſhe, being both ſtronge enoughe to ſtande in a bowe, and alſo light enoughe to fly farre, are beſt for a meane, which is to be ſought out in every thinge. And although I know, that ſome men ſhoote ſo ſtronge, that the deade woodes be light enough for them, and other ſome ſo weake, that the louſe woodes be likewyſe for them bigge enoughe, yet generallye, for the moſt part of men, the meane is the beſt. And ſo to conclude, that is alwayes beſt for a man, which is meeteſt for him. Thus no woode of his owne nature is eyther to light or to heavy, but as the ſhooter is himſelfe which doth uſe it. For that ſhaft, which one yeare for a man is to lighte and ſcuddinge, for the ſelfe ſame reaſon the next yeare may chaunce to be heavye and hobblinge. Therefore cannot I expreſſe, except generallye, what is beſt woode for a ſhafte, but let everye man, when he knoweth his owne ſtrengthe, and the nature of everye woode, provide and fit himſelfe thereafter. Yet, as concerninge ſheaffe arrowes for war, (as I ſuppoſe) it were better to make them of good Aſhe, and not of Aſpe, as they be now a dayes. For of all other

woodes

woodes that ever I proved, Aſhe beinge bigge is ſwifteſt, and againe hevye to geve a great ſtripe withall, which Aſpe ſhall not do. What heavineſſe doth in a ſtripe every man by experience can tell, therefore Aſhe being both * ſwifter and heavyer, is more fit for ſheafe arrowes than Aſpe, and thus much for the beſt woode for ſhaftes.

Againe likewiſe as no one woode can be greatlye meete for all kinde of ſhaftes, no more can one faſhion of the ſtele be fit for every ſhooter. For thoſe that be little breaſted and bigge towarde the heade, called by theyr likeneſſe Taper faſhion, Reſhe Growne, and of ſome mery felowes Bobtailes, be fit for them which ſhoote under hand, becauſe they ſhoote with a ſofte louſe, and ſtreſſes not a ſhafte much in the breſte, where the weight of the bowe lyeth, as you may perceyve by the weringe of everye ſhafte. Againe, the bigge breaſted ſhaft is fit for him which ſhooteth right afore him, or els the breaſt beinge weake ſhould never withſtande that ſtronge pithye kinde of ſhootinge; thus, the under hand muſt have a ſmal breſt to go clene away out of the bowe, the fore hand muſt have a bigge breſte to beare the great might of the bowe. The ſhaft muſt be made rounde, nothinge flat, without gall or wemme, for this purpoſe. For becauſe roundneſſe (whether you take example in heaven or in earthe) is fitteſt ſhappe and forme both for faſt movinge, and alſo for ſone percinge of any thinge. And therefore *Ariſtotle* ſayth, that nature hath made the raine to be rounde, becauſe it ſhould the eaſelyer enter through the ayre.

The nocke of the ſhaft is diverſely made, for ſome be great and full, ſome handſome and litle; ſome wyde, ſome narowe, ſome deepe, ſome ſhalowe, ſome rounde, ſome longe, ſome with one nocke, ſome with double nocke, whereof every one hath his propertye. The great and full nocke may be well felt, and manye wayes they ſave a ſhaft from breakinge. The handſome and litle nocke will go cleane awaye from the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakinge of the ſhafte and alſo for ſodaine ſlippinge out of the ſtringe, when the narrowe nocke doth avoyde both thoſe harmes. The deepe and longe nocke is good in warre for ſure keepinge in of the ſtringe. The ſhalowe and rounde nocke is beſt for our purpoſe in pricking for cleane

* This account of the qualities of the aſh, which is repreſented as having ſome peculiar power of ſwiftneſs, is obſcure. He probably means, that aſh is the wood which, in a quantity proper for an arrow, has weight enough to ſtrike hard, and lightneſs enough to fly far.

deliverance

deliverance of a ſhoote. And double nockinge is uſed for double ſuertye of the ſhafte. And thus farre as concerninge a hoole ſtele. Peecinge of a ſhaft with Braſell and Hollie, or other heavye woodes, is to make the ende * compaſſe heavye with the feathers in flyinge, for the ſtedfaſter ſhootinge. For if the ende were plumpe heavye with leade and the wood next it light, the head ende would ever be downwards, and never flye ſtreight. Two pointes in peecinge be enough, leaſt the moyſtneſſe of the earth enter to much into the peecinge, and ſo louſe the glue. Therefore many pointes be more pleaſaunte to the eye, than profitable for the uſe. Some uſe to peece theyr ſhaftes in the nocke with Braſell or hollye, to counterwey with the heade, and I have ſeene ſome for the ſame purpoſe bore an hole a litle beneath the nocke, and put leade in it. But yet none of theſe wayes be any thing needfull at all, for the nature of a feather in flying, if a man mark it well, is able to beare uppe a wonderful weight: and I thincke ſuch peecinge came uppe firſt, thus: when a good archer hath broken a good ſhaft, in the feathers, and for the fantaſie he hath had to it, he is loth to leeſe it, and therefore doth he peece it. And then by and by other, either becauſe it is gaye, or els becauſe they will have a ſhaft like a good archer, cutteth theyr hole ſhaftes, and peeceth them againe: a thinge, by my judgmente, more coſtlye than nedefull. And thus have you hearde what woode, what faſhion, what nockinge, what peecinge, a ſtele muſt have. Now foloweth the featheringe.

Phi. I would never have thought you could have ſayde half ſo much of a ſtele, and, I thincke, as concerninge the litle feather, and the playne heade, there is but litle to ſaye. Tox. Litle, Yes, truly: for there is no one thinge in all ſhootinge ſo much to be looked on as the feather. For, firſt, a queſtion may be aſked: Whether any other thinge beſyde a feather, be fit for a ſhaft or no? If a feather only be fit, whether a gooſe feather onlye or no? If a gooſe feather be beſt, then whether there be any difference as concerning the feather of an olde gooſe, and a younge gooſe; a gander, or a gooſe; a fenny gooſe, or an uplandiſhe gooſe? Againe, which is the beſt feather in any gooſe, the right winge or the left winge, the pinion feather, or any other feather: a whyte, blacke, or greye feather? Thirdly, in ſetting on your feather, whether it is pared or drawn with a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe, (the rybbe is the hard quill which divideth the fea-

* *Compaſs heavy* ſeems to ſignify *proportionately heavy.*

ther) a long feather better or a ſhorte, ſet on near the nocke, or far from the nocke, ſet on ſtreight, or ſomewhat bowinge? And whether one or two feathers runne on the bowe. Fourthlye, in coulinge or ſheeringe, whether highe or lowe, whether ſomewhat ſwyne backed (I muſt uſe ſhooters wordes) or ſadle backed, whether rounde or ſquare ſhorne? And whether a ſhaft at any time ought to be plucked, and howe to be plucked?

Phi. Surely, *Toxophile*, I thincke many fletchers, although daylye they have theſe thinges in ure, if they were aſked ſodenly, what they could ſay of a fether, they could not ſaye ſo much. But I pray you let me heare you more at large expreſſe thoſe thinges in a feather, the which you packed up in ſo narrowe a roume. And firſt, whether any other thing may be uſed for a feather or not?

Tox. That was the firſt pointe indede, and becauſe there foloweth many after, I will hye apace over them, as one that had many a mile to ryde.

Plin. 16. 36. Shaftes to have had alwayes feathers, *Plinius* in *Latine*, and *Julius Pol-*
J. Pol. 1. 10. *lux* in *Greke*, do plainlye ſhewe, yet onlye the *Lycians* I reade in *Hero-*
Herod. Pol. *dotus*, to have uſed ſhaftes without feathers. Onelye a feather is fit for a ſhaft for two cauſes, firſt becauſe it is * leath, weake to geve place to the bowe, then becauſe it is of that nature, that it will ſtarte up after the bowe. So plate, woode, or horne, cannot ſerve, becauſe they will not geve place. Againe, clothe, paper, or parchmente, cannot ſerve, becauſe they will not ryſe after the bowe, therefore a feather is only meete, becauſe it only will do both. Nowe to loke on the feathers of all maner of byrdes, you ſhall ſee ſome ſo lowe, weake and ſhort, ſome ſo courſe, ſtore and harde, and the ribbe ſo brickle, thin and narrow, that it can neither be drawen, pared, nor yet well ſet on, that excepte it be a ſwanne for a deade ſhaft, (as I knowe ſome good archers have uſed) or a ducke for a flight, which laſtes but one ſhoote, there is no feather but onlye of a gooſe that hath all commodities in it. And trulye at a ſhorte butte, which ſome man doth uſe, the peacock feather doth ſeldome kepe up the ſhaft eyther right or level, it is ſo rough and heavye, ſo that manye men, which have taken them up for gayneſſe, hath layde them down agayne for profite, thus, for our purpoſe, the gooſe is the beſt feather, for the beſt ſhooter. Phi. No that is not ſo, for the beſt ſhooter that ever was, uſed other feathers.

Tox. Yea, are you ſo cunninge in ſhootinge? I praye you who was

* *Leath* is limber, flexible, eaſily giving way. *Milton* calls it *lithe*.

that? PHI. *Hercules*, which had his ſhaftes feathered with eagles feathers, as *Heſiodus* doth ſay. TOX. Well, as for *Hercules*, ſeeing neyther water nor lande, heaven nor hell, coulde ſcarce content him to abyde in, it was no marveile though ſelye poore gooſe feather coulde not pleaſe him to ſhoote withal; and againe, as for eagles, they flye ſo hye and builde ſo farre of, that they be very harde to come by. Yet well fare the gentle gooſe, which bringeth to a man, even to his doore, ſo many exceeding commodities. For the gooſe is mans comfort in warre and in peace, ſleepinge and wakinge. What prayſe ſoever is geven to ſhootinge, the gooſe may challenge the beſt part in it. Howe well dothe ſhe make a man fare at his table? Howe eaſilye dothe ſhe make a man lye in his bedde? Howe fit even as her feathers be only for ſhootinge, ſo be her quills fit only for wrytinge. PHI. Indede, *Toxophile*, that is the beſt prayſe you gave to a gooſe yet, and ſurely I would have ſayde you had bene to blame, if you had overſkipte it.

Heſiodus in Scuto. Her.

A Gooſe.

TOX. The *Romaynes*, I trowe, *Philologe*, not ſo much becauſe a gooſe with crying ſaved their *Capitolium*, and heade toure, with their golden *Jupiter*, as *Propertius* doth ſay very pretely in this verſe,

Anſeris et tutum voce fuiſſe Jovem.

Propertius.

Id eſt,

Theves on a night had ſtolne *Jupiter*, had a gooſe not a kekede.

Did make a golden gooſe, and ſet her in the toppe of the *Capitolium*, and appointed alſo the *Cenſores* to allow out of the common butche yearely ſtipendes, for the findinge of certaine geeſe; the *Romaynes*, did not, I ſaye, geeve all this honour to a gooſe for that good dede onely, but for other infinite mo, which come daily to a man by geeſe; and ſurelye if I ſhould declame in the prayſe of any maner of beſt lyvinge, I would chuſe a gooſe. But the gooſe hath made us flee to farre from our matter. Now, Sir, ye have heard how a feather muſt be had, and that a gooſe feather onlye: it foloweth of a young gooſe and an olde, and the reſidue belonginge to a feather: which thinge I will ſhortlye courſe over; whereof, when you knowe the properties, you may fit your ſhaftes according to your ſhootinge, which rule you muſt obſerve in all other thinges to, becauſe no one faſhion or quantitye can be fit for every man, no more than a ſhooe or a cote can be. The olde gooſe

Livius 1. Dec. 5.

feather is ſtiffe and ſtronge, good for a wynde, and fitteſt for a dead ſhaft: the younge gooſe feather is weake and fyne, beſt for a ſwifte ſhafte, and it muſt be couled at the firſt ſheering, ſomewhat hye, for with ſhootinge it will ſattle and faule very much. The ſame thing (althoughe not ſo much) is to be conſidered in a gooſe and a gander. A fenny gooſe, even as her fleſhe is blacker, ſtoorer, unholſomer, ſo is her feather, for the ſame cauſe, courſer, ſtoorer, and rougher, and therefore I have heard very good fletchers ſay, that the ſecond fether in ſome place is better than the pinion in other ſome. Betwixt the winges is litle difference, but that you muſt have divers ſhaftes of one flight, feathered with divers winges, for divers wyndes: for if the wynd and the feather go both one waye, the ſhafte will be caryed to much. The pinion feathers, as it hath the firſt place in the winge, ſo it hath the firſt place in good featheringe. You may know it afore it be pared, by a bought which is in it, and againe when it is couled, by the thickneſſe above, and the thickneſſe at the grounde, and alſo by the ſtiffneſſe and fineſſe which will cary a ſhaft better, faſter and further, even as a fine ſayle cloth doth a ſhippe.

The coloure of the feather is leaſt to be regarded, yet ſomewhat to be loked on; for a good white you have ſometimes an ill greye. Yet ſurely it ſtandeth with good reaſon, to have the cocke feather blacke or greye, as it were to geve a man warninge to nocke right. The cocke feather is called that which ſtandeth above in right nockinge, which if you do not obſerve, the other feathers muſt needes runne on the bowe, and ſo marre your ſhote. And thus farre of the goodneſſe and choyce of your feather: now foloweth the ſetting on. Wherein you muſt looke that your feathers be not drawen for haſtineſſe, but pared even and ſtreight with diligence. The fletcher draweth a feather when it hath but one ſwappe at it with his knife, and then playneth it a litle, with rubbing it over his knife. He pareth it when he taketh leyſure and heede, to make everye part of the rybbe apt to ſtand ſtreight and even on upon the ſtele. This thing, if a man take not hede on, he may chaunce have cauſe to ſay ſo of his fletcher, as in dreſſinge of meate is commonlye ſayde of cookes: and that is, that God ſendeth us good feathers, but the devill noughtye fletchers. If anye fletchers heard me ſay thus, they would not be angrye with me, excepte they were ill fletchers: and yet by reaſon, thoſe fletchers too ought rather

rather to amende themſelves for doing ill, than be angrye with me for ſaying truth. The ribbe in a ſtiffe feather may be thinner, for ſo it will ſtande cleaner on: but in a weake feather you muſt leave a thicker ribbe, or elſe if the ribbe, which is the foundation and grounde wherein nature hath ſet every clefte of the feather, be taken to nere the feather, it muſt nedes folow, that the feather ſhall fall and droup down, even as any herbe doth which hath his roote to nere taken on with a ſpade. The length and ſhortneſſe of the feather ſerveth for divers ſhaftes, as a longe feather for a longe, heavye, or byg ſhafte, the ſhort feather for the contrarye. Againe, the ſhorte maye ſtande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Your feather muſt ſtand almoſt ſtreight on, but yet after that ſort, that it may turne rounde in flyinge.

And here I conſider the wonderfull nature of ſhootinge, which ſtandeth altogether by that faſhion, which is moſt apt for quicke movinge, and that is by roundneſſe. For firſt the bowe muſt be gathered rounde, in drawinge it muſt come rounde compaſſe, the ſtringe muſt be rounde, the ſtele muſt be round, the beſt nocke rounde, the feather ſhorne ſomewhat rounde, the ſhaft in flyinge muſt turne rounde, and, if it flye far, it flyeth a rounde compaſſe, for eyther above or beneath a rounde compaſſe hindereth the flyinge. Moreover, both the fletcher in makinge your ſhaft, and you in nockinge your ſhaft, muſt take heede that two feathers equally runne on the bow. For if one feather runne alone on the bowe, it ſhall quickely be worne, and ſhall not be able to match with the other feathers; and againe, at the lowſe, if the ſhaft be light, it will ſtart, if it be heavye, it will hoble. And thus as concerning ſettinge on of your feather. Now of coulinge.

To ſhere a ſhaft highe or lowe, muſt be as the ſhafte is, heavye or light, great or litle, long or ſhort, the ſwyne backed faſhion maketh the ſhaft deader, for it gathereth more ayre than the ſaddle backed, and therefore the ſaddle backe is ſurer for daunger of weather, and fitter for ſmothe flyinge. Againe, to ſhere a ſhaft rounde, as they were wont ſometimes to do, or after the tryangle faſhion, which is muche uſed now a dayes, both be good. For roundneſſe is apte for flyinge of his own nature, and all maner of tryangle faſhion (the ſharpe pointe goinge before) is alſo naturallye apte for quicke entringe; and

De Nat. Deor. and therefore ſayth *Cicero*, that cranes, taught by nature, obſerve in flyinge a tryangle faſhion alwayes, becauſe it is ſo apte to perce and go through the ayre withall. Laſt of all, pluckinge of feathers is nought, for there is no furetye in it, therefore let every archer have ſuch ſhaftes, that he may both know them and truſt them at every chaunge of weather. Yet, if they muſt nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as can be, for ſo ſhall they be the leſſe unconſtant. And thus I have knit up in as ſhort a roume as I could, the beſt feathers, featheringe, and coulinge of a ſhaft.

Phi. I thincke ſurelye you have ſo taken up the matter with you, that you have left nothinge behinde you. Nowe you have broughte a ſhafte to the heade, which, if it were on, we had done as concerninge all inſtrumentes belonging to ſhootinge. Tox. Neceſſitye, the inventor of all goodneſſe (as all authors in a manner do ſaye) amonges all other thinges invented a ſhaft head, firſt to ſave the end from breakinge, then it made it ſharpe to ſticke better, after it made it of ſtrong matter, to laſt better: laſt of all, experience and wyſedome of men hath brought it to ſuch a perfitneſſe, that there is no one thinge ſo profitable belonging to artillerye, either to ſtrike a mans enemye forer in warre, or to ſhoote nerer the marke at home, than is a fitte heade for both purpoſes. For if a ſhaft lacke a heade, it is worth nothing for neyther uſe. Therefore, ſeeinge heades be ſo neceſſarye, they muſt of neceſſitye be well loked upon. Heades for warre, of longe time hath bene made, not onlye of divers matters, but alſo of divers faſhions. The *Troyans* had heades of yron, as this verſe, ſpoken of *Pandarus*, ſheweth:

Iliad. 4. *Up to the pappe his ſtringe did he pull, his ſhaft to the harde yron.*

The *Grecians* had heades of braſſe, as *Ulyſſes* ſhaftes were headed, when he ſlewe *Antoninus* and the other wowers of *Penelope*.

Odyſſ. 21. ——*Quite throughe a dore ſlewe a ſhaft with a braſſe head.*

Iliad. 4. It is playne in *Homer*, where *Menelaus* was wounded of *Pandarus* ſhaftes, that the heades were not glewed on, but tyed on with a ſtring, as the commentaryes in *Greke* plainly tell. And therefore ſhooters, at that time, uſed to carye theyr ſhaftes without heades, until they occupyed them, and then ſet on an head, as it appeareth in *Homer*, the twenty-

twenty-firſt booke *Odyſſey*, where *Penelope* brought *Ulyſſes* bow downe amonges the gentlemen which came on wowinge to her, that he which was able to bende it and drawe it, might enjoy her, and after her folowed a mayde, ſayth *Homer*, caryinge a bagge full of heades, both of yron and braſſe. Odyſſ. 21.

The men of *Scythia* uſed heads of braſſe. The men of *Inde* uſed heads of yron. The *Ethiopians* uſed heads of hard ſharpe ſtone, as both *Herodotus* and *Pollux* doth tell. The *Germaines*, as *Cornelius Tacitus* doth ſaye, had theyr ſhaftes headed with bone, and manye countryes, both of olde time and nowe, uſe heades of horne. But, of all other, yron and ſtele muſt nedes be the fitteſt for heades. *Julius Pollux* calleth otherwyſe than we do, where the feathers be the heade, and that which we call the heade, he calleth the point. Herod. Clio. Polym. J. Pol. 1. 10.

Faſhion of heades is divers, and that of olde time: two manner of arrowes heades, ſayth *Pollux*, was uſed in olde time. The one he calleth ὄγκινος, deſcribinge it thus, havinge two pointes or barbes, lokinge backeward to the ſtele and the feathers, which ſurelye we call in *Engliſhe* a brode arrowe head, or a ſwalowe tayle. The other he calleth γλῶχις, having two pointes ſtretchinge forwarde, and this *Engliſhemen* do call a forke heade: both theſe two kindes of heades were uſed in *Homers* dayes, for *Teucer* uſed forked heades, ſayinge thus to *Agamemnon*,

Eight good ſhaftes have I ſhot ſith I came, ech one with a forke heade. Iliad. 8.

Pandarus heades and *Ulyſſes* heades were brode arrowe heades, as a man maye learne in *Homer*, that would be curious in knowinge that matter. *Hercules* uſed forked heades, but yet they had three pointes or forkes, when other mens had but two. The *Parthians* at that great battaile where they ſlue riche *Craſſus* and his ſonne, uſed brode arrowe heads, whiche ſtacke ſo fore that the *Romaynes* could not pull them out againe. *Commodus* the Emperour uſed forked heades, whoſe faſhion *Herodian* doth lively and naturallye deſcribe, ſayinge, that they were like the ſhap of a newe mone, wherewith he woulde ſmite the head of a birde, and never miſſe; other faſhion of heades have not I redde on. Our *Engliſhe* heades be better in warre than eyther forked [illegible] or brode arrowe heades. For firſt, the ende beinge lighter, the [illegible] great deale the faſter, and, by the ſame reaſon, geveth a fa[illegible] Plutarchus in Craſſo. Herod. 2.

ſtripe. Yea, and, I ſuppoſe, if the ſame litle barbes which they have, were clean put awaye, they ſhould be farre better. For this every man doth graunt, that a ſhaft, as long as it flyeth, * turnes, and when it leaveth turning, it leaveth going any farther. And every thing that enters by a turninge and boringe faſhion, the more flatter it is, the worſe it enters, as a knife, though it be ſharpe, yet, becauſe of the edges, will not bore ſo well as a bodkin, for everye rounde thinge enters beſt; and therefore nature, ſayth *Ariſtotle*, made the raine droppes round, for quicke pereinge the ayre. Thus, eyther ſhaftes turne not in flyinge, or elſe our flat arrow heades ſtop the ſhaft in entering.

PHI. But yet, *Toxophile*, to hold your communication a litle, I ſuppoſe the flat head is better, both becauſe it maketh a greater hole, and alſo becauſe it ſtickes faſter in. TOX. Theſe two reaſons, as they be both true, ſo they be both nought. For firſt, the leſſe hole, if it be deepe, is the worſe to heale againe: when a man ſhooteth at his enemy, he deſyreth rather that it ſhould enter farre, than ſticke faſt. For what remedye is it, I praye you, for him that is ſmitten with a deepe wounde, to pull out the ſhaft quicklye, except it be to haſt his death ſpedelye? Thus heades which make a litle hole and deep, be better in warre, than thoſe which make a great hole and ſticke faſt in. *Julius Pollux* maketh mention of certaine kindes of heades for warre, which beare fyre in them, and Scripture alſo ſpeaketh ſomewhat of the ſame. *Herodotus* doth tell a wonderfull policy to be done by *Xerxes*, what time he beſieged the great tower in *Athens:* He made his archers binde theyr ſhaft heades about with towe, and then ſet it on fyre and ſhoote them, which thing done by many archers, ſet all the place on fyre, which were of matter to burne: and, beſydes that, daſed the men within, ſo that they knew not whyther to turne them. But, to make an end of all heades for warre, I woulde wyſhe that the heade makers of *Englande* ſhould make theyr ſheafe arrow heades more harder pointed than they be: for I myſelfe have ſeene of late ſuch heades ſet upon ſheafe arrowes, as the officers, if they had ſeene them, would not have bene content withall.

Pollux 7.
Pſalm 7.
Herod.
Vran.

Nowe as concerninge heades for prickinge, which is our purpoſe, there be divers kindes, ſome be blont heades, ſome ſharpe, ſome both

* If it be true, as I believe it is, that a ſhaft turns round in flying, it is not true that triangular ſhafts are good for piercing, as has been ſaid by the authour, nor that *Commodus* could intercept the neck of a bird between the two points of a half moon.

blonte

blonte and ſharpe. The blonte heades men uſe, becauſe they perceive them to be good to kepe a lengthe withall, they kepe a good lengthe, becauſe a man pulleth them no further at one time than at another; for in feelinge the plompe ende alwayes equallye, he may lowſe them. Yet, in a winde, and againſt the winde, the weather hath ſo much power on the brode ende, that no man can kepe no ſure length with ſuch a head; therefore a blont head, in a caulme or downe a winde, is very good, otherwiſe none worſe. Sharpe heades at the ende, without any ſhoulders, (I call that the ſhoulders in a heade which a mans finger ſhall feele afore it come to the point) will perch quicklye through a winde, but yet it hath two diſcommodities, the one that it will kepe no length, it kepeth no length, becauſe no man can pull it, certainly as farre at one time as at another: it is not drawen certainly ſo farre one time as at another, becauſe it lacketh ſhoulderinge, wherewith, as with a ſure token, a man might be warned when to louſe; and alſo becauſe men are afrayd of the ſharpe pointe for ſettinge it in the bowe. The ſecond incommoditye is when it is lighted on the grounde, the ſmall point ſhall everye time be in jeopardye of hurtinge, which thinge, of all other, will ſoneſt make the ſhaft leſe the length. Nowe, when blont heades be good to kepe a length withall, yet nought for a winde; ſharpe heades good to perch the weather withal, yet nought for a length; certaine heade makers, dwellinge in *London*, perceyving the commoditye of both kindes of heades, joyned with a diſcommoditye, invented new files and other inſtrumentes, wherewith they brought heades for prickinge to ſuch a perfitneſſe, that all the commodityes of the two other heades ſhould be put in one heade, without any diſcommodity at all. They made a certaine kinde of heades, which men call Hie Rigged, Creaſed, or Shouldred heades, or Silver-Spoon heades, for a certaine likeneſſe that ſuch heades have with the knob ende of ſome ſilver ſpones. Theſe heades be good both to kepe a length withall, and alſo to perche a winde withall. To kepe a length withall, becauſe a man maye certainly pull it to the ſhoulderinge every ſhoote, and no farther; to perch a winde withall, becauſe the point, from the ſhoulder forward, breaketh the weather as all other ſharpe thinges doo. So the blont ſhoulder ſerveth for a ſure length kepinge, the pointe alſo is ever fit for a roughe and great weather percinge. And thus much, as ſhortly as I could, as concerninge heades both for warre and peace. PHI. But is there no cunninge as con-

cerninge ſetting on of the heade. Tox. Well remembred. But that point belongeth to fletchers, yet you may deſyre him to ſet your heade full on, and cloſe on. Full on is when the woode is bet harde up to the ende or ſtoppinge of the heade; cloſe on, is when there is left woode on everye ſyde the ſhafte, enoughe to fill the head withall, or when it is neyther too litle nor yet too great. If there be anye fault in any of theſe pointes, the heade, when it lighteth on an harde ſtone, or grounde, will be in jeopardye, eyther of breakinge, or els otherwiſe hurtinge. Stopping of heades eyther with leade or any thinge els, ſhall not nede nowe, becauſe every ſilver ſpoone, or ſhouldred heade, is ſtopped of itſelfe. Shorte heades be better than longe: for firſt, the longe heade is worſe for the maker to file ſtreight compaſſe everye waye; againe, it is worſe for the fletcher to ſet ſtraight on; thirdlye, it is alwayes in more jeopardye of breakinge when it is on. And now, I trowe, *Philologe*, we have done as concerninge all inſtrumentes belonging to ſhootinge, which every fere archer ought to provide for himſelfe. And there remayneth two thinges behinde, which be general or common to every man, the weather and the marke, but, becauſe they be ſo knit with ſhootinge ſtraighte, or kepinge of a lengthe, I will refer them to that place; and now we will come (God willinge) to handle our inſtrumentes, the thinge that every man deſyreth to do well. Phi. If you teache me ſo well to handle the inſtrumentes as you have deſcryb-ed them, I ſuppoſe I ſhall be an archer good enoughe. Tox. To learne any thinge, (as you know better than I, *Philologe)* and eſpeciallye to do a thinge with a mans handes, muſt be done, if a man would be excellent, in his youthe. Younge trees in gardens, which lacke all ſenſes, and beaſtes without reaſon, when they be younge, may, with handlinge and teachinge, be brought to wonderfull thinges.

And this is not onlye true in natural thinges, but in artificiall thinges to, as the potter moſt cunningly doth caſt his pottes when his claye is ſoft and workable, and waxe taketh print when it is warme, and leathie weake, not when clay and waxe be harde and olde: and even ſo, every man in his youth, both with witte and bodye, is moſt apte and pliable to receive any cunning that ſhould be taught him.

This communication of teachinge youth, maketh me remember the right worſhipful, and my ſingular good maiſter, Sir *Humphreye Wingfielde*,

fielde, to whom, next God, I ought to referre, for his manifold benefits beſtowed on me, the pore talent of learninge which God hath lent me: and for his ſake do I owe my ſervice to all other of the name and noble houſe of the *Wingfieldes*, both in worde and deede. This worſhipful man hath ever loved and uſed to have many children brought up in learninge in his houſe, amonges whom I myſelfe was one. For whom at terme-times he would bringe down from *London* both bowe and ſhaftes, and, when they ſhould playe, he would go with them himſelfe into the fielde, and ſee them ſhoote, and he that ſhotte fayreſt, ſhould have the beſt bowe and ſhaftes, and he that ſhotte ill favouredly, ſhould be mocked of his fellowes, till he ſhotte better.

Would to God all *Englande* had uſed, or would uſe to laye the foundation, after the example of this worſhipful man, in bringinge up children in the booke and the bowe: by which two thinges the hole common wealthe, both in peace and warre, is chieflye ruled and defended withall.

But to our purpoſe, he that muſt come to this high perfectneſs in ſhootinge, which we ſpeake of, muſt nedes beginne to learne it in his youthe, the omittinge of which thinge in *England*, both maketh fewer ſhooters, and alſo every man, that is a ſhooter, ſhoote worſe than he might if he were taught. PHI. Even as I knowe this is true, which you ſaye, even ſo, *Toxophile*, you have quite diſcouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from ſhootinge, ſeeinge, by this reaſon, no man that hath not uſed it in his youthe, can be excellent in it. And I ſuppoſe the ſame reaſon would diſcourage many other mo, if they heard you talk after this ſort. TOX. This thinge, *Philologe*, ſhall diſcourage no man that is wyſe. For I will prove that wyſedome may worke the ſame thinge in a man, that nature doth in a childe.

A childe by three thinges is broughte to excellencye. By aptneſſe, deſyre, and feare: aptneſſe maketh him pliable, like waxe, to be formed and faſhioned, even as a man would have him. Deſyre, to be as good, or better, than his fellowes: and fear of them whom he is under, will cauſe him take great laboure and paine with diligente heede, in learninge any thing, whereof proceedeth, at the laſt, excellencye and perfectneſſe.

A man maye, by wyſedome in learninge of any thinge, and ſpeciallye to ſhoote, have three like commodityes alſo, whereby he may, as it were, become yonge againe, and ſo attaine to excellencye. For as a childe is apt by naturall youthe, ſo a man, by uſinge at the firſt weake bowes, farre underneth his ſtrength, ſhall be as pliable and redye to be taughte fayre ſhootinge as any childe: and dailye uſe of the ſame ſhall both keepe him in fayre ſhootinge, and alſo at the laſt bringe him to ſtronge ſhootinge.

And, inſtede of the fervent deſyre which provoketh a child to be better than his felowe, let a man be as much ſtirred up with ſhamefaſtnes to be worſe than all other. And the ſame place that feare hath in a childe, to compel him to take paine, the ſame hath love of ſhootinge in a man, to cauſe him forſake no labour, without which no man nor childe can be excellent. And thus, whatſoever a childe may be taught by aptneſſe, deſyre, and fear, the ſame thinge in ſhootinge may a man be taught by weake bowes, ſhamefaſtneſſe and love.

And hereby you may ſee that that is true which *Cicero* ſayth, that a man, by uſe, may be brought to a newe nature. And this I dare be bould to ſaye, that anye man which will wiſelye beginne, and conſtantly perſevere in his trade of learninge to ſhoote, ſhall attaine to perfectneſſe therein. PHI. This communication, *Toxophile*, doth pleaſe me very well, and now I perceive that moſt generally and chiefly youthe muſt be taught to ſhoote, and, ſecondarilye, no man is debarred therefrom except it be more throughe his own negligence, for becauſe he will not learne, than any diſabilitye becauſe he cannot learne. Therefore, ſeeinge I will be glad to folowe your counſel in choſinge my bowe and other inſtrumentes, and alſo am aſhamed that I can ſhoote no better than I can, moreover, havinge ſuch a love towarde ſhootinge by your good reaſons to daye, that I will forſake no laboure in the exerciſe of the ſame, I beſeech you imagine that we had both bow and ſhaftes here, and teache me how I ſhould handle them; and one thinge I deſyre you, make me as fayre an archer as you can.

For this I am ſure, in learninge all other matters, nothing is brought to the moſt profitable uſe, which is not handled after the moſt comelye faſhion. As maiſters of fence have no ſtroke fitte eyther to hitte an other,

other, or els to defende himſelfe, which is not joyned with a wonderfull comlineſſe. A cooke cannot choppe his herbes neyther quickely nor handſomely, excepte he kepe ſuch a meaſure mith his choppinge knyves, as would delight a man both to ſee him and heare him. Every handye crafteman that workes beſte for his owne profite, workes moſt ſemely to other mens ſighte. Agayne in buildinge a houſe, in makinge a ſhippe, every parte, the more hanſomlye they be joyned for * profite and laſte, the more comelye they be faſhioned to every mans ſight and eye.

Nature itſelfe taught men to joyne alwayes wellfavouredneſſe with profitableneſſe. As in man, that joynte or piece which is by any chaunce deprived of his comlineſſe, the ſame is alſo debarred of his uſe and profitableneſſe. And he that is gogle eyde, and lokes a ſquinte, hath both his countenaunce clene marred, and his ſight ſore blemiſhed, and ſo in all other members like. Moreover, what time of the year bringeth moſt profite with it for mans uſe, the ſame alſo covereth and decketh both earth and trees with moſt comlineſſe for mans pleaſure. And that time which taketh away the pleaſure of the grounde, caryeth with him alſo the profite of the grounde, as every man by experience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thinges there be which hath no other ende, but only comlineſſe, as payntinge and dauncing. And vertue itſelfe is nothinge elſe but comlineſſe, as all *Philoſophers* do agree in opinion; therefore, ſeeinge that which is beſt done in any matters, is alwayes moſt comlye done, as both *Plato* and *Cicero* in many places do prove, daily experience doth teache in other thinges, I praye you, as I ſaid before, teache me to ſhoote as fayre, wellfavouredly, as you can ymagen. Tox. Trulye, *Philologe*, as you prove very well in other matters, the beſt ſhootinge is alwayes the moſt comlye ſhootinge; but this you know as well as I, that *Craſſus* ſheweth in *Cicero*, that, as comlyneſſe is the chiefe pointe, and moſt to be ſought for in all thinges, ſo comlyneſſe only can never be taughte by any arte or craft; but may be perceyved well when it is done, not deſcribed well how it ſhould be done. Yet, nevertheleſſe, to come to it there be many wayes, which wyſe men hath aſſayed in other matters, as if a man would folowe, in learninge to ſhoote fayre, the noble paynter *Zeuxes* in payntinge *Helena*, which, to make his image beautiful, did choſe out five of the

* *Profite and laſte*, convenience and duration.

faireſt

faireſt maydes in all the countrye about, and, in beholdinge them, conceyved and drue out ſuch an image, that it farre exceeded all other, becauſe the comlineſſe of them all was brought into one moſt perfit comlineſſe: ſo likewyſe in ſhootinge, if a man would ſet before his eyes five or ſix of the faireſt archers that ever he ſaw ſhoote, and of one learne to ſtande, of another to drawe, of another to lowſe, and ſo take of every man what every man could do beſt; I dare ſaye, he ſhould come to ſuch a comlineſſe as never man came to yet.

PHI. This is very well trulye, but I pray you teache me ſomewhat of ſhooting fayre yourſelfe. TOX. I can teache you to ſhoote fayre, even as *Socrates* taughte a man ones to know God; for, when he aſked him what was God, Nay, ſayth he, I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not ill, God is unſpeakable, unſearchable, and ſo forth: even likewyſe can I ſay of fayre ſhootinge, It hath not this diſcommodity with it nor that diſcommodity; and, at laſt, a man may ſo ſhift all the diſcommodityes from ſhootinge, that there ſhall be left nothinge behinde but fayre ſhootinge. And to do this the better, you muſt remember how that I toulde you, when I deſcrybed generallye the hole nature of ſhootinge, that fayre ſhootinge came of theſe thinges, of ſtandinge, nockinge, drawinge, houldinge, and lowſinge, the which I will go over as ſhortly as I can, deſcribinge the diſcommodities that men commonly uſe in all partes of theyr bodyes, that you, if you faulte in anye ſuch, may know it, and ſo go about to amende it. Faultes in archers do exceed the nomber of archers, which come with uſe of ſhootinge withoute teachinge. Uſe and cuſtome ſeperated from knowledge and learninge, doth not only hurt ſhootinge, but the moſt weightye thinges in the world beſyde: and, therefore, I marveile much at thoſe people which be the maintayners of uſes without knowledge, having no other worde in theyr mouth but this *uſe*, *uſe*, *cuſtome*, *cuſtome*. Such men, more wilfull than wyſe, beſyde other diſcommodityes, take all place and occaſion from all amendment. And this I ſpeake generallye of uſe and cuſtome. Which thinge, if a learned man had it in hand that would applye it to any one matter, he might handle it wonderfully. But, as for ſhooting, uſe is the only cauſe of all faultes in it, and therefore children, more eaſely and ſooner, may be taught to ſhoote excellently than men, becauſe children may be taught to

ſhoote

ſhoote well at the firſt, men have more pain to unlearne theyr ill uſes, than they have labour afterwarde to come to good ſhootinge.

All the diſcommodityes which ill cuſtome hath grafted in archers, can neyther be quickly pulled oute, nor yet ſoone reckoned of me, there be ſo many. Some ſhooteth his head forwarde, as though he would byte the marke; another ſtareth with his eyes, as though they ſhould flye out; another winketh with one eye and loketh with the other; ſome make a face with wrything theyr mouth and countenaunce ſo, as though they were doinge you wotte what; another blereth oute his tongue; another byteth his lippes; another holdeth his necke awrye. In drawinge, ſome fet ſuch a compaſſe, as though they would turne about, and *bleſſe all the field; other heave theyr hand now up now downe, that a man cannot decerne whereat they would ſhoote: another waggeth the upper end of his bow one way, the nether ende another way. Another will ſtand pointing his ſhaft at the marke a good while, and, by and by, he will geve him a whippe, and away or a man witte. Another maketh ſuch a wreſtlinge with his gere, as thoughe he were able to ſhoote no more as longe as he lived. Another draweth ſoftlye to the middes, and, by and by, it is gone you cannot know howe. Another draweth his ſhaft lowe at the breaſt, as thoughe he would ſhoote at a roving marke, and, by and by, he lifteth his arme up pricke heyght. Another maketh a wrynchinge with his backe, as thoughe a man pinched him behinde. Another coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as thoughe he ſhould ſhoote at crowes. Another ſetteth forwarde his left legge, and draweth back with heade and ſhoulders, as thoughe he pulled at a rope, or elſe were afrayed of the mark. Another draweth his ſhaft well, untill within two fingers of the heade, and then he ſtayeth a little, to loke at his marke, and, that done, pulleth it up to the head, and lowſeth: which waye, although ſome excellent ſhooters do uſe, yet ſurelye it is a fault, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed. Some drawe to farre, ſome to ſhort, ſome to ſlowlye, ſome to quicklye, ſome hold over longe, ſome let go over ſone. Some ſette theyr ſhafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him upwarde; another pointeth up towarde the ſkye, and ſo bringeth him downwardes.

* This alludes to the actions of the Romiſh prieſt in publick benedictions. This paſſage may explain a very obſcure phraſe in *Spenſer*, who calls waving the ſword in circles, *bliſſing* the ſword.

Ones

Ones I ſawe a man which uſed a bracer on his cheke, or elſe he had ſcratched all the ſkinne of the one ſyde of his face with his drawinge-hande. Another I ſaw, which, at every ſhote, after the looſe, lifted up his righte legge ſo far that he was ever in jeopardye of faulinge. Some ſtampe forwarde, and ſome leape backward. All theſe faultes be eyther in the drawinge, or at the looſe; with many other mo, which you may eaſelye perceyve, and ſo go about to avoyde them.

Now afterward, when the ſhaft is gone, men have many faultes, which evill cuſtome hath brought them to, and ſpeciallye in cryinge after the ſhaft, and ſpeaking wordes ſcarce honeſt for ſuch an honeſt paſtime.

Such wordes be very tokens of an ill minde, and manifeſt ſignes of a man that is ſubject to inmeſurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhorre them, and an honeſt man therefore will avoyde them. And beſydes thoſe which muſt needes have theyr tongue thus walkinge, other men uſe other faultes, as ſome will take theyr bowe and wrythe and wrinche it, to pull in his ſhaft, when it flyeth wyde, as if he drave a cart. Some will geve two or three ſtrydes forwarde, daunſinge and hoppinge after his ſhaft, as longe as it flyeth, as though he were a madde man. Some, which feare to be to farre gone, runne backwarde, as it were to pull his ſhafte backe. Another runneth forwarde, when he feareth to be ſhorte, heavinge after his armes, as thoughe he woulde helpe his ſhafte to flye. Another wrythes, or runneth aſyde, to pull in his ſhafte ſtraight. One lifteth up his heele, and ſo holdeth his foote ſtill, as longe as his ſhafte flyeth. Another caſteth his arme backwarde after the louſe. And another ſwynges his bowe about him, as it were a man with a ſhafte to make roume in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, which now come not to my remembraunce. Thus, as you have hearde, many archers, with marringe theyr face and countenaunce, with other partes of theyr bodye, as it were men that ſhould daunce antiques, be farre from the comely porte in ſhootinge, which he that would be excellent muſt loke for.

Of theſe faultes I have very many myſelfe, but I talke not of my ſhootinge, but of the general nature of ſhootinge. Now ymagen an archer

archer that is cleane without all theſe faultes, and I am ſure every man would be delighted to ſee him ſhoote.

And althoughe ſuch a perfite comlyneſſe cannot be expreſſed with any precepte of teachinge, as *Cicero* and other learned men do ſay, yet I will ſpeake (according to my little knowledge) that thing in it, which if you folowe, although you ſhall not be without faulte, yet your faulte ſhall neyther quickly be perceyved, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that ſtand by. Standing, nocking, drawing, holding, lowſing, done as they ſhould be done, make fayre ſhootinge.

The firſt point is when a man ſhould ſhoote, to take ſuch footinge and ſtandinge, as ſhall be both comely to the eye, and profitable to his uſe, ſetting his countenaunce and all the other partes of his bodye after ſuch a behaviour, and port, that both all his ſtrength may be employed to his own moſt advantage, and his ſhote made and handled to other mens pleaſure and delyte. A man muſt not go to haſtely to it, for that is raſhneſſe, nor yet make to much to do about it, for that is curioſity; the one foote muſt not ſtand to far from the other, leaſt he ſtoupe to much, which is unſemely, nor yet to nere together, leaſt he ſtande to ſtreyghte uppe, for ſo a man ſhall neyther uſe his ſtrength well, nor yet ſtande ſtedfaſtlye. Standinge.

The mean betwixt both muſt be kept, a thinge more pleaſaunt to behold when it is done, than eaſy to be taught how it ſhould be done.

To nocke well is the eaſyeſt pointe of all, and therein is no cunninge, but only diligente heede gevinge, to ſet his ſhafte neyther to hye nor to lowe, but even ſtreight overwharte his bowe. Unconſtant nockinge maketh a man leeſe his lengthe. And beſydes that, if the ſhafte ende be hye, and the bowe-hand low, or contrarye, both the bowe is in jeopardye of breakinge, and the ſhaft, if it be little, will ſtart: if it be greate, it will hobble. Nocke the cocke fether upward alwayes, as I toulde you when I deſcrybed the fether. And be ſure alwayes that your ſtringe ſlip not out of the nocke, for then all is in jeopardye of breakinge. Nockinge.

Drawinge. Drawinge well is the beſt part of ſhootinge. Men in oulde time uſed other maner of drawinge than we do. They uſed to drawe lowe at the breaſt, to the right pappe, and no further; and this to be true is plaine in *Homer*, where he deſcrybeth *Pandarus* ſhootinge.

Iliad. 4. *Up to the pap his ſtringe did he pull, his ſhafte to the hard heade.*

The noble women of *Scythia* uſed the ſame faſhion of ſhootinge lowe at the breſt, and, becauſe theyr left pappe hindred theyr ſhooting at the lowſe, they cut it off when they were young, and therefore they be called, in lacking theyr pappe, *Amazones*. Nowe a daye, contrarywiſe, we drawe to the righte eare, and not to the pappe. Whether the old waye in drawinge lowe to the pappe, or the new way, to drawe alofte to the eare, be better, an excellent wryter in *Greeke*, called *Procopius*, doth ſaye his minde, ſhewinge that the olde faſhion in drawinge to the pappe was noughte of no pithe, and therefore, ſayth *Procopius*, is artillery diſprayſed in *Homer*, which calleth it ἀῒδανος, *i. e.* weake, and able to do no good. Drawinge to the eare he prayſeth greatlye, whereby men ſhoote both ſtronger and longer: drawinge therefore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breſt. And one thinge commeth into my remembraunce nowe, *Philologe*, when I ſpeak of drawinge, that I never redde of other kinde of ſhootinge, than drawinge with a mans hande eyther to the breſte or eare: this thing have I ſought for in
Croſbowes. *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch*, and therefore I marveile how croſbowe came firſt uppe, of the which, I am ſure, a man ſhall find litle mention made on any good author. *Leo* the Emperour would have his ſouldiours drawe quicklye in warre, for that maketh a ſhaft flye apace. In ſhootinge at the prickes, haſtye and quicke drawinge is neyther ſure nor yet comely. Therefore to drawe eaſely and uniformelye, that is for to ſay, not waggynge our hand, now upward, now downeward, but alwayes after one faſhion, untill you come to the rigge or ſhouldringe of the heade, is beſt both for profite and ſeemelineſſe.
Holdinge. Holdinge muſt not be longe, for it both putteth a bowe in jeopardye, and alſo marreth a mans ſhote; it muſt be ſo litle, that it may be perceyved better in a mans minde, when it is done, than ſeene with a mans
Lowſinge. eyes when it is in doinge. Lowſinge muſt be much like. So quicke and harde, that it be without all girdes, ſo ſoft and gentle, that the ſhafte flye not as it were ſent out of a bowe-caſe. The meane betwixt both,

both, which is perfite lowſinge, is not ſo harde to be folowed in ſhootinge as it is to be deſcrybed in teachinge. For cleane lowſinge, you muſt take heede of hitinge any thinge abont you. And for the ſame purpoſe, *Leo* the Emperour would have all archers in warre to have theyr heades pouled, and theyr beardes ſhaven, leaſt the heere of theyr heads ſhould ſtoppe the ſighte of the eye, the heere of theyr beards hinder the courſe of the ſtringe. And theſe preceptes, I am ſure, *Philologe*, if you folowe, in ſtanding, nocking, drawing, holding, and lowſing, ſhall bring you at the laſt to excellent fayre ſhootinge.

PHI. All theſe thinges, *Toxophile*, although I both now perceyve them thoroughlye, and alſo will remember them diligentlye: yet to-morrowe, or ſome other day when you have leyſure, we will go to the prickes, and put them by litle and litle in experience. For teachinge not folowed, doeth even as much good as bookes never looked upon. But now, ſeinge you have taughte me to ſhoote fayre, I pray you tell me ſomewhat, how I ſhould ſhoote neare, leaſt that proverbe might be ſayde juſtlye of me ſome time, *He ſhootes like a gentleman fayre and farre off.* TOX. He that can ſhoote fayre, lacketh nothing but ſhooting ſtreight, and keeping of a length, whereof commeth hittinge of the marke, the ende both of ſhootinge, and alſo of this our communication. The handling of the wether and the marke, becauſe they belonge to ſhootinge ſtreight, and keping of a length, I will joyne them together, ſhewinge what thinges belonge to kepinge of a lengthe, and what to ſhootinge ſtreight.

Wynde and wether.

The greateſt enemye of ſhooting is the winde and the weather, whereby true kepinge a lengthe is chiefiye hindered. If this thinge were not, men, by teachinge, might be brought to wonderfull neare ſhootinge. It is no marveile if the litle poore ſhaft, beinge ſent alone ſo hye in the ayre, into a great rage of wether, one winde toſſinge it that waye, another this waye, it is no marveile, I ſaye, though it leeſe the length, and miſſe that place where the ſhooter had thought to have found it. Greater matters than ſhootinge are under the rule and will of the weather, as in ſaylinge on the ſea. And likewyſe, as in ſaylinge, the chiefe point of a good maſter is to knów the tokens of chaunge of wether, the courſe of the wyndes, that thereby he may the better come to the haven: even ſo the beſt propertye of a good ſhooter is to knowe the nature of the windes, with him and againſt him, and

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thereby he maye the nerer ſhoote at his marke. Wyſe mayſters, when they cannot winne the beſt haven, they are glad of the next: good ſhooters alſo, that cannot when they woulde hit the marke, will labour to come as nigh as they can. All thinges in this worlde be unperfite and unconſtant, therefore let every man acknowledge his own weakneſſe in all matters, greate and ſmall, weightye and merye, and glorifye him, in whom onlye perfite perfiteneſſe is. But now, Sir, he that will at all adventures uſe the ſeas, knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempeſt than in a caulme, ſhall ſoone become a merchaunt of ele ſkinnes: ſo that ſhooter which putteth no difference, but ſhooteth in all alike, in roughe weather and fayre, ſhall alwayes put his winninges in his eyes. Litle boates and thinne boordes cannot endure the rage of a tempeſt. Weake bowes, and light ſhaftes cannot ſtande in a roughe wynde. And likewiſe, as a blind man, which ſhould go to a place where he had never beene afore, that hath but one ſtreight waye to it, and of eyther fyde hooles and pittes to faule into, now fauleth into this hoole, and then into that hoole, and never cometh to his journey ende, but wandereth alwayes here and there, further and further of; ſo that archer which ignorantly ſhooteth, conſidering neyther fayre nor foule, ſtandinge nor nockinge, fether nor head, drawinge nor lowſinge, nor any compaſſe, ſhall alwayes ſhoote ſhorte and gone, wyde and farre off, and never come neare, excepte perchaunce he ſtumble ſometime on the marke. For ignorance is nothing elſe but mere blindneſſe.

A maiſter of a ſhippe firſt learneth to know the comminge of a tempeſt, the nature of it, and how to behave himſelfe in it, eyther with chaunginge his courſe, or pulling downe his hye toppes and brode ſayles, being glad to eſchue as much of the wether as he can; even ſo a good archer will firſt, with diligent uſe and marking the weather, learne to knowe the nature of the winde, and, with wyſedome, will meaſure in his minde, how much it will alter his ſhote, eyther in length kepinge, or elſe in ſtreight ſhootinge, and ſo, with chaunging his ſtanding, or taking another ſhaft, the which he knoweth perfitely to be fitter for his purpoſe, eyther becauſe it is lower fethered, or elſe becauſe it is of a better wynge, will ſo handle with diſcretion his ſhote, that he ſhall ſeem rather to have the wether under his rule, by good heede.

heede gevinge, than the wether to rule his ſhaft by any ſodaine chaunginge.

Therefore, in ſhooting, there is as much difference betwixt an archer that is a good wether man, and an other that knoweth and marketh nothinge, as is betwixt a blinde man, and he that can ſee.

Thus, as concerninge the wether, a perfite archer muſt firſt learne to knowe the ſure flighte of his ſhaftes, that he may be bould alwayes to truſt them, than muſt he learne by daily experience all maner of kindes of wether, the tokens of it, when it will come, the nature of it when it is come; the diverſity and altering of it when it chaungeth, the decreaſe and diminiſhinge of it when it ceaſeth. Thirdlye, theſe thinges knowen, and every ſhote diligently marked, then muſt a man compare alwayes the wether and his footinge together, and, with diſcretion, meaſure them ſo, that whatſoever the wether ſhall take away from his ſhote, the ſame ſhall juſt footinge reſtore againe to his ſhote. This thinge well knowen, and diſcretelye handled in ſhootinge, bringeth more profite and commendation and prayſe to an archer, than any other thing beſydes. He that would know perfectly the wind and wether, muſt put differences betwixt times. For diverſity of time cauſeth diverſity of wether, as in the whole yeare. Spryng time, Sommer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter: likewiſe in one daye, morninge, noontyde, afternoone, and eventyde, both alter the wether, and chaunge a mans bow with the ſtrength of a man alſo. And to knowe that this is ſo, is enough for a ſhooter and artillerye, and not to ſearche the cauſe why it ſhould be ſo: which belongeth to a learned man and *Philoſophie*. In conſideringe the time of the year, a wyſe archer will folowe a good ſhipman; in winter and roughe weather, ſmall boates and litle pinkes forſake the ſeas: and at one time of the yeare no gallies come abrode: ſo likewyſe weake archers, uſinge ſmall and holowe ſhaftes, with bowes of litle pithe, muſt be content to geve place for a time. And this I do not ſay, eyther to diſcourage any weake ſhooter: for likewiſe, as there is no ſhippe better than galleys be, in a ſoft and caulme ſea, ſo no man ſhooteth comlier, or nerer his marke, than ſome weake archers do, in a fayre and cleare daye.

Thus

Thus every Archer muſt know, not onlye what bowe and ſhafte is fitteſt for him to ſhoote withall, but alſo what time and ſeaſon is beſt for him to ſhoote in. And ſurely, in all other matters to, among all degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thinge eyther more diſcretelye for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his advauntage, than he which will knowe perfitely for what matter, and for what tyme he is moſt apt and fitte. If men would go about matters which they ſhould do, and be fitte for, not ſuche thinges which wilfully they deſyre, and yet be unfitte for, verelye greater matters in the common wealth than ſhootinge ſhould be in better caſe than they be. This ignorancye in men which knowe not for what time, and to what thing they be fitte, cauſeth ſome wyſhe to be riche, for whom it were better a greate deale to be poore; other to be medlinge in everye mans matter, for whom it were more honeſtye to be quiete and ſtill. Some to deſyre to be in the court, which be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Some to be maiſters and rule other, which never yet began to rule themſelves; ſome alwayes to iangle and taulke, which rather ſhoulde heare and kepe ſilence. Some to teache, which rather ſhould learne. Some to be prieſtes, which were ſitter to be clearkes. And this perverſe judgemente of the worlde, when men meaſure themſelves amiſſe, bringeth much diſorder and great unſemelineſſe to the hole body of the common wealthe, as if a man ſhould weare his hooſe upon his heade, or a woman go with a ſworde and a buckler, everye man woulde take it as a greate uncumlineſſe, although it be but a tryfle in reſpecte of the other.

This perverſe judgement of men hindereth nothing ſo muche as learninge, becauſe commonly thoſe that be unfitteſt for learninge, be chieflye ſet to learninge. As if a man nowe a dayes have two ſonnes, the one impotent, weke, ſicklye, liſpinge, ſtutteringe, and ſtameringe, or havinge anye miſſhape in his bodye; what doth the father of ſuche one commonlye ſaye? This boye is fitte for nothinge elſe, but to ſet to learninge and make a prieſt of, as who would ſay, the outcaſtes of the worlde, having neyther countenance, tongue nor witte, (for of a perverſe bodye commeth commonly a perverſe minde) be good enoughe to make thoſe men of, which ſhall be appointed to preache Gods holy worde, and miniſter his bleſſed ſacramentes, beſydes other moſt weightye matters in the com-

mon

mon wealthe, put oft times, and worthely, to learned mennes dyſcretion and charge; when rather ſuch an office, ſo highe in dignitye, ſo godly in adminiſtration, ſhould be committed to no man, which ſhould not have a countenaunce full of comlineſſe, to allure good men, a bodye full of manly authoritye to * feare ill men, a witte apt for all learninge, with tongue and voyce able to perſwade all men. And althoughe fewe ſuch men as theſe can be founde in a common wealthe, yet ſurelye a godlye diſpoſed man will both in his minde thincke fit, and with all his ſtudye labour to gette ſuch men as I ſpeake of, or rather better, if better can be gotten, for ſuch an hye adminiſtration, which is moſt properly appointed to Gods own matters and buſineſſes.

This perverſe judgemente of fathers, as concerninge the fitneſſe and unfitneſſe of theyr children, cauſeth the common wealth have manye unfit myniſters: and ſeinge that myniſters be, as a manne woulde ſay, inſtrumentes wherewith the common wealth doth worke all her matters withall, I marveile how it chaunceth that a poore ſhoomaker hath ſo much witte, that he will prepare no inſtrumente for his ſcience, neyther knyfe nor aule, nor nothinge elſe which is not verye fit for him. The common wealthe can be contente to take at a fonde fathers hande the rifraffe of the worlde, to make thoſe inſtrumentes of, wherewithall ſhe ſhoulde woorke the hieſt matters under heaven. And ſurelye an aule of leade is not ſo unprofitable in a ſhoo-makers ſhoppe, as an unfit miniſter, made of grooſe metell, is unſeemelye in the common wealthe. Fathers in olde time, among the noble *Perſians*, might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the judgement of the common wealthe alwayes thoughte beſt. This faulte of fathers bringeth manye a blot with it, to the great deformitye of the common wealthe: and here ſurely I can prayſe gentlewomen, which have alwayes at hand theyr glaſſes, to ſee if any thinge be amiſſe, and ſo will amende it, yet the common wealthe, havinge the glaſſe of knowledge in every mans hande, doth ſee ſuche uncumlineſſe in it, and yet wincketh at it. This fault, and many ſuch like, might be ſoone wyped away, if fathers would beſtowe theyr children on that thinge alwayes, whereunto nature hath ordayned them moſt apt and fitte. For if youth be grafted ſtreighte, and not awrye, the hole common wealthe will floryſhe thereafter. When this is done, thenne muſte every man beginne to be more readye to amende himſelfe, than to checke another, meaſuringe

* To *fear* is to *terrify*.

theyr

theyr matters with that wyſe proverbe of *Apollo*, *Knowe thyſelfe:* that is to ſaye, learne to knowe what thou art able, fitte, and apte unto, and folowe that. This thinge ſhould be both cumlye to the common wealthe, and moſte profitable for everye one, as doth appeare verye well in all wyſe mennes deedes, and ſpeciallye (to turne to our communication againe) in ſhootinge, where wyſe archers have alwayes theyr inſtrumentes fitte for theyr ſtrength, and wayte evermore ſuch time and wether as is moſt agreeable to theyr gere. Therefore, if the wether be to ſore, and unfitte for your ſhootinge, leave off for that daye, and wayte a better ſeaſon. For he is a foole that will not go whom neceſſitye dryveth. Phi. This communication of yours pleaſed me ſo well, *Toxophile*, that ſurelye I was not haſtye to call you to deſcrybe forth the wether, but with all my hart would have ſuffered you yet to have ſtande longer in this matter. For theſe thinges touched of you by chaunce, and by the waye, be farre above the matter itſelfe, by whoſe occaſion the other were brought in. Tox. Weightye matters they be indeede, and fitte both in an other place to be ſpoken, and of an other man than I am to be handled. And, becauſe meane men muſt meddle with meane matters, I will go forwarde in deſcrybinge the wether as concerninge ſhootinge: and, as I toulde you before, in the hole yere, Springe-time, Sommer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter: and in one daye, Morninge, Noonetime, Afternoone, and Eventyde, altereth the courſe of the wether, the pyth of the bowe, the ſtrength of the man. And in everye one of theſe tymes, the wether altereth, as ſometime windy, ſometime caulme, ſometime cloudye, ſometime cleare, ſometime hot, ſometime coulde, the wynde ſometime moiſtye and thicke, ſometime drye and ſmoothe. A litle wynd in a moiſtye day ſtoppeth a ſhafte more than a good whyſkynge wynde in a cleare daye. Yea, and I have ſeene when there hath bene no wynde at all, the ayre ſo miſtye and thicke, that both the markes have bene wonderfull great. And ones, when the plague was in *Cambrige*, the * downe wynd twelve ſcore marke for the ſpace of three weekes was thirteen ſcore and a half, and into the wynd, being not very great, a great deale above fourteen ſcore.

The wynde is ſometime plaine up and downe, which is commonlye moſt certaine, and requireth leaſt knowledge, wherein a meane ſhooter, with meane geare, if he can ſhoote home, may make beſt ſhift. A

* *The downe wind*, &c. This paſſage I do not fully underſtand.

ſyde

ſyde wynd tryeth an archer and good gere very much. Sometime it bloweth aloft, ſometime hard by the ground; ſometime it bloweth by blaſtes, and ſometime it continueth all in one; ſometime full ſyde wynd, ſometime quarter with him, and more; and likewiſe againſt him, as a man with caſting up light graſſe, or elſe, if he take good heede, ſhall ſenſiblye learne by experience. To ſee the wynd, with a mans eyes, it is unpoſſible, the nature of it is ſo fine, and ſubtile, yet this experience of the wynd had I ones myſelfe, and that was in the great ſnowe that fell four yeares agoo. I rode in the hye way betwixt *Topcliffe* upon *Swale* and *Borowbridge*, the way being ſomewhat troden afore, by waye fayringe men; the fieldes on both ſides were playne, and laye almoſt yeard deep with ſnowe, the night before had bene a litle froſte, ſo that the ſnowe was harde, and cruſted above; that morninge the ſunne ſhone bright and cleare, the wynd was whiſtling aloft, and ſharpe, according to the time of the yeare; the ſnow in the hye waye laye lowſe and troden with horſe feete; ſo as the wynd blewe, it toke the lowſe ſnowe with it, and made it ſo ſlide upon the ſnowe in the fielde, which was harde and cruſted by reaſon of the froſt over nighte, that thereby I might ſee very well the hole nature of the wynde as it blewe that daye. And I had a greate delyte and pleaſure to marke it, which maketh me now farre better to remember it. Sometime the wynde would be not paſt two yardes brode, and ſo it would cary the ſnow as farre as I could ſee. Another time the ſnowe would blowe over half the fielde at ones. Sometime the ſnow would tomble ſoftlye, by and by it would flye wonderful faſt. And this I perceyved alſo, that the wynde goeth by ſtreames, and not hole together. For I ſhould ſee one ſtreame within a ſcore on me, then the ſpace of two ſcore, no ſnow would ſtyre, but, after ſo much quantitye of grounde, an other ſtreame of ſnowe, at the ſame very tyme, ſhould be caryed likewyſe, but not equallye, for the one would ſtande ſtyll, when the other flew apace, and ſo continue ſometime ſwiftlyer, ſometime ſlowlyer, ſometime broder, ſometime narrower, as far as I could ſee. Nor it flewe not ſtreighte, but ſometime it crooked this waye, ſometime that waye, and ſometime it ran round about in a compaſſe. And ſometime the ſnowe would be lyft cleane from the grounde up to the ayre, and by and by it would be all clapt to the ground, as though there had bene no wynd at all, ſtreight way it would ryſe and flye againe. And that which was the moſt marveile of all, at one time two driftes of ſnow flewe, the one out of the Weſt into

the Eaſt, the other oute of the North into the Eaſt. And I ſawe two wyndes, by reaſon of the ſnow, the one croſſe over the other, as it had been two hye wayes. And, againe, I ſhould heare the winde blow in the ayre, when nothing was ſtyrred at the ground. And when all was ſtill where I rode, not verye farre from me the ſnow ſhould be lifted wonderfullye. This experience made me more marveile at the nature of the wynde, than it made me cunninge in the knowledge of the wynde; but yet thereby I learned perfitely that it is no marveile at all though men in wynde leaſe theyr length in ſhootinge, ſeeinge ſo many wayes the wynde is ſo variable in blowinge.

But ſeeinge that a maiſter of a ſhyppe, be he never ſo cunninge, by the uncertainty of the wynde, leeſeth manye tymes both lyfe and goodes, ſurelye it is no wonder, though a right good archer, by the ſelfe ſame wynde, ſo variable in his own nature, ſo inſenſible to our nature, leeſe many a ſhote and game.

The more uncertaine and deceyvable the wynde is, the more heede muſt a wyſe archer geve to know the gyles of it. He that doth miſtruſt is ſeldome begyled. For although thereby he ſhall not attayne to that which is beſt, yet by theſe meanes he ſhall at laſt avoyde that which is worſt. Beſyde all theſe kindes of wyndes, you muſt take heede if you ſee anye cloude appeare, and gather by litle and litle againſt you, or elſe, if a ſhower of rayne be lyke to come upon you, for then both the dryvinge of the wether and the thickinge of the ayre increaſeth the marke, when, after the ſhower, all thinges are contrarye cleare and caulme, and the marke, for the moſt part, new to begin againe. You muſt take heede alſo, if ever you ſhoote where one of the markes, or bothe, ſtandes a little ſhort of a hye wall, for there you may be eaſilye begyled. If you take graſſe and caſte it up, to ſee howe the wynde ſtandes, many times you ſhall ſuppoſe to ſhoote downe the wynde, when you ſhoote cleane againſt the wynde. And a good reaſon why. For the wynde which commeth indeed againſt you, redoundeth backe agayne at the waule, and whyrleth backe to the pricke, and a litle farther, and then turneth agayne, even as a vehement water doth againſt a rocke, or an hye braye; which example of water, as it is more ſenſible to a mans eyes, ſo it is never a whitte the truer than this of the wynde. So that the graſſe caſte uppe ſhall flee that waye which indeede

indeede is the longer marke, and deceyve quicklye a ſhooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones myſelfe at *Norwytche* in the chapell field within the waules. And this way I uſed in ſhootinge at thoſe markes. When I was in the mydde way betwixt the markes, which was an open place, there I toke a fethere, or a lyttle lighte graſſe, and ſo, as well as I coulde, learned howe the wynde ſtoode; that done I went to the pricke as faſt as I could, and, according as I had found the wynde when I was in the midde waye, ſo I was fayne then to be content to make the beſt of my ſhote that I could. Even ſuch an other experience had I, in a maner, at *Yorke*, at the prickes lyinge betwixt the caſtle and *Ouſe* ſyde. And although you ſmyle, *Philologe*, to heare me tell myne own fondneſſe; yet, ſeeinge you will nedes have me teache you ſomewhat in ſhootinge, I muſt nedes ſometime tell you of mine owne experience. And the better I may do ſo, becauſe *Hippocrates*, in teaching phyſicke, uſeth very muche the ſame waye. Take heede alſo when you ſhoote neare the ſea coaſt, although you be two or three myles from the ſea, for there diligent marking ſhall eſpye in the moſt cleare daye wonderfull chaunginge. The ſame is to be conſidered lykwyſe by a ryver ſyde, ſpecially if it be ebbe and flowe, where he that taketh diligente heede of the tyde and wether, ſhall lightlye take awaye all that he ſhooteth for. And thus, of the nature of wyndes and wether, accordinge to my markinge, you have hearde, *Philologe:* and hereafter you ſhall marke farre mo yourſelfe, if you take heede. And the wether thus marked, as I tolde you afore, you muſt take heede of your ſtandinge, that thereby you may winne as much as you ſhall loſe by the wether.

Hippoc. de herb. un.

Phi. I ſee well it is no marveile though a man miſſe many times in ſhootinge, ſeeinge the wether is ſo unconſtant in blowinge, but yet there is one thinge which many archers uſe, that ſhall cauſe a man have leſſe nede to marke the wether, and that is ame gevinge.

Tox. Of gevinge ame, I cannot tell well what I ſhould ſaye. For in a ſtraunge place it taketh awaye all occaſion of foule game, which is the onlye prayſe of it, yet, by my judgement, it hindereth the knowledge of ſhootinge, and maketh men more negligent: the which is a diſprayſe. Though ame be geven, yet take hede, for at another mans ſhoote you cannot well take ame, nor at your own neyther, becauſe the wether will alter, even in a minute, and at that one marke, and not at

the other, and trouble your ſhafte in the ayre, when you ſhall perceive no wynde at the grounde, as I myſelfe have ſeen ſhaftes tumble alofte in a verye fayre daye. There may be a fault alſo in drawinge or lowſing, and manye thinges mo, which altogether are required to keepe a juſt length. But, to go forewarde, the next point after the markinge of your wether, is the taking of your ſtanding. And, in a ſyde wynde, you muſt ſtande ſomewhat croſſe into the wynde, for ſo ſhall you ſhoote the ſurer. When you have taken good footing, then muſt you loke at your ſhaft, that no earth, nor weete, be left upon it, for ſo ſhould it leeſe the length. You muſt loke at the head alſo, leaſt it have had any ſtrype at the laſt ſhote. A ſtrype upon a ſtone, many times will both marre the head, croke the ſhaft, and hurt the fether, whereof the leaſt of them all will cauſe a man leeſe his * ſtrengthe. For ſuch thinges which chaunce every ſhoote, manye archers uſe to have ſome place made in theyr coate, fit for a litle fyle, a ſtone, a hunfyſh ſkin, and a clothe to dreſſe the ſhaft fit againe at all needes. This muſt a man loke to ever when he taketh uppe his ſhafte. And the heade may be made to ſmoothe, which will cauſe it flye to farre: when your ſhafte is fitte, then muſt you take your bowe even in the middes, or els you ſhall both leeſe your length, and put your bowe in jeopardye of breakinge. Nocking juſt is next, which is much of the ſame nature. Then drawe equallye, lowſe equallye, with houldinge your hande ever of one height to kepe true compaſſe. To loke at your ſhafte heade at the lowſe is the greateſt helpe to kepe a lengthe that can be, which thing yet hindereth excellente ſhootinge, becauſe a man cannot ſhoote ſtreight perfectlye excepte he loke at his marke; if I ſhould ſhoote at a line, and not at the marke, I would alwayes loke at my ſhafte ende: but of this thinge ſome what afterwarde. Nowe, if you marke the wether diligentlye, kepe your ſtandinge juſtlye, hould and nocke truely, drawe and lowſe equallye, and kepe your compaſſe certainlye, you ſhall never miſſe of your lengthe. PHI. Then there is nothinge behinde to make me hit the marke, but only ſhootinge ſtreight. TOX. No trulye. And firſt I will tell you what ſhiftes archers have founde to ſhoote ſtreight, then what is the beſt way to ſhoote ſtreight. As the wether belongeth ſpeciallye to kepe a lengthe (yet a ſyde winde belongeth alſo to ſhoote ſtreight) even ſo the nature of the pricke is to ſhoote ſtreighte. The lengthe or ſhortneſſe of the marke is alwayes under the rule of the wether, yet ſomewhat there is in the marke, worthie to be marked of

* Perhaps it ſhould be *length*.

an

an archer. If the prickes ſtande on a ſtreighte plaine grounde, they be the beſte to ſhoote at. If the marke ſtande on a hill-ſyde, or the grounde be unequall with pittes and turninge wayes betwixt the markes, a mans eye ſhall thincke that to be ſtreighte which is crooked: the experience of this thinge is ſeen in paintinge, the cauſe of it is known by learninge: and it is enough for an archer to marke it, and take heede of it. The chiefe cauſe whye men cannot ſhoot ſtreight, is becauſe they loke at theyr ſhafte; and this faulte commeth, becauſe a man is not taughte to ſhoote when he is younge. If he learne to ſhoote by himſelfe, he is afraide to pull the ſhaft through the bowe, and therefore loketh alwayes at his ſhaft; ill uſe confirmeth this fault as it doth many mo. And men continue the longer in this fault, becauſe it is ſo good to kepe a lengthe withall: and yet to ſhoote ſtreighte, they have invented ſome wayes to eſpye a tree or a hill beyond the marke, or els to have ſome notable thing betwixt the markes; and ones I ſaw a good archer which did caſt off his gere, and layed his quiver with it, even in the mid waye betwixte the prickes. Some thought he did it for ſavegard of his gere: I ſuppoſe he did it to ſhoote ſtreighte withall. Other men uſe to eſpye ſome marke almoſt a bowe wyde of the pricke, and then go about to kepe himſelfe on the hand that the pricke is on, which thinge how much good it doth, a man will not believe, that doth not prove it. Other, and thoſe very good archers, in drawinge, loke at the marke untill they come almoſt to the heade, then they loke at theyr ſhafte, but, at the verye lowſe, with a ſecond ſight, they finde theyr marke againe. This waye, and all other afore of me reherſed, are but ſhiftes, and not to be folowed in ſhootinge ſtreight. For having a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the onelye waye to ſhoote ſtreighte, yea and, I ſuppoſe, ſo redye and eaſye a waye, if it be learned in youth, and confirmed with uſe, that a man ſhall never miſſe therein. Men doubt yet in loking at the mark what way is beſt, whether betwixt the bowe and the ſtringe, above or beneath his hande, and many wayes mo: yet it maketh no greate matter which waye a man loke at his marke, if it be joyned with comelye ſhootinge. The diverſity of mens ſtanding and drawing cauſeth divers men loke at their marke divers wayes; yet they all leade a mans hande to ſhoote ſtreight, if nothing els ſtoppe. So that cumlyneſſe is the onlye judge of beſt lokinge at the marke. Some men wonder whye, in caſtinge a mans eye at the marke, the hande ſhould go ſtreighte: ſurelye if he conſidered the nature of a mans eye, he would not wonder.

der at it: for this I am certaine of, that no ſervaunt to his maiſter, no childe to his father, is ſo obedient, as everye joynte and peece of the bodye is to do whatſoever the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler and the ſuccourer of all the other partes. The hande, the foote, and other members, dare do nothinge withoute the eye, as doth appear on the night and darcke corners. The eye is the very tongue wherewith witte and reaſon doth ſpeake to everye parte of the bodye, and the witte doth not ſo ſoon ſignifye a thinge by the eye, as every part is redye to folowe, or rather prevent the biddinge of the eye. This is plaine in manye thinges, but moſt evident in fence and feighting, as I have heard men ſaye. There everye parte ſtandinge in feare to have a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as younge children do to the mother; the foote, the hande, and all wayteth upon the eye. If the eye bid the hand eyther bear of or ſmite, or the foote eyther go forward, or backward, it doth ſo; and that which is moſt wonder of all, the one man lokinge ſtedfaſtly at the other mans eye, and not at his hand, will, even as it were, rede in his eye where he purpoſeth to ſmyte next, for the eye is nothing els but a certaine window for wit to ſhoote out her heade at.

This wonderfull worke of God in makinge all the members ſo obedient to the eye, is a pleaſant thinge to remember and loke upon; therefore an archer may be ſure, in learninge to loke at his marke when he is younge, alwayes to ſhoote ſtreighe. The thinges that hinder a man which loketh at his marke, to ſhoote ſtreight, be theſe: a ſyde winde, a bowe eyther to ſtronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, when a fether runneth on the bowe to much, a bigge breſted ſhafte, for him that ſhooteth under hande, becauſe it will hobble; a litle breſted ſhafte for him that ſhooteth above the hande, becauſe it will ſtarte; a payre of windinge prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you ſhall marke yourſelfe, and as ye know them, ſo learne to amende them. If a man would leave to loke at his ſhaft, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye uſe this waye, which a good ſhooter told me ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the night, and ſhoot at two lightes, and there he ſhall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, and never at his ſhafte: this thinge, ones or twiſe uſed, will cauſe him forſake loking at his ſhafte. Yet let him take heede of ſetting his ſhafte in the bowe.

Thus,

Thus, *Philologe*, to ſhoote ſtreight is the leaſt maiſterye of all, if a man order himſelfe thereafter in his youthe. And as for kepinge a length, I am ſure, the rules which I gave you will never deceyve you; ſo that there ſhall lacke nothing, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or els verye neare ſhootinge, except the faulte be onlye in youre owne ſelfe, which may come two wayes, eyther in having a fainte harte, or courage, or els in ſufferinge yourſelfe overmuch to be ledde with affection: if a mans minde fayle him, the bodye, which is ruled by the minde, can never do his dutye, if lacke of courage were not, men might do mo maiſtries than they do, as doth appeare in leapinge and vaultinge.

All affections, and eſpeciallye anger, hurteth both minde and body. The minde is blinde thereby, and, if the minde be blinde, it cannot rule the bodye arighte. The bodye, both bloude and bone, as they ſaye, is brought out of his right courſe by anger: whereby a man lacketh his righte ſtrength, and therefore cannot ſhoote well. If theſe thinges be avoyded (whereof I will ſpeake no more, both becauſe they belonge not properlye to ſhootinge, and alſo you can teache me better in them than I you) and all the preceptes which I have given you diligentlye marked, no doubte ye ſhall ſhoote as well as ever man did yet, by the grace of God.

This communication handled of me, *Philologe*, as I know well not perfitelye, yet, as I ſuppoſe trulye, you muſt take in good worthe, wherein, if divers thinges do not altogether pleaſe you, thancke your ſelfe, which woulde have me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thinge in hande, which I was not able for to perfourme; than by any honeſt ſhamefaſtneſſe with-ſaye your requeſt and minde, which I knowe well I have not ſatisfyed. But yet I will thincke this labour of myne the better beſtowed, if to-morrowe, or ſome other daye when you have leyſure, you will ſpende as much time with me here in this ſame place, in entreating the queſtion *De origine animæ*, and the joyninge of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe farre *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and the *Stoycians* have waded in it.

Phi. Howe you have handeled this matter, *Toxophile*, I maye not well tell you myſelfe now, but, for your gentleneſſe and good will towardes learninge

learninge and ſhootinge, I will be content to ſhewe you anye pleaſure whenſoever you will; and nowe the ſunne is downe, therefore, if it pleaſe you, we will go home and drincke in my chamber, and there I will tell you plainlye what I thincke of this communication, and alſo what daye we will appointe, at your requeſt, for the other matter to meete here againe.

The End of the SCHOLE of SHOOTINGE.

THE

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DIVÆ

*DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ,

Moſt Excellent Princes, &c. &c.

THE unlearned perſons hath perfitlie learned this leſſon, that no one matter maketh more difference betwixt man and man, than doth learninge. And thoughe learninge bringe to everie kinde of man (who godlie doth uſe it) the treweſt pleaſur, the ſureſt profet, the greateſt praiſe, that can be either gotten in earth, or given from heaven, (heaven itſelf onelie excepted) yet is not learninge more fitte and neceſſarie to any other perſon, than it is to a Prince. For we ſubjectes are, by dewtie, and oughte to be by reaſon, obeyers and folowers: and ſo as ſcholers and learners: You Princes are, in dignitie, and ought to be in worthineſſe, commanders and leaders, and therefore as maſters and teachers. And how ſhall he lead an other, that can not go himſelf: or what ſhall he teache, that nothinge hath learned? But, how happie be we, that have a Prince who knoweth full well, that that Prince is unhappie for himſelf, and all his, who knoweth nothing, but by another mans head: nor muſt ſee nothing, but by other mens eyes: nor will hear nothing, but by other mennes eares: nor can ſpeak nothing, but by an other mans tonge. Such a monſter, without heade, eyes, ears, and tonge, were mervelus to be ſeene, more perilus to be had, but moſt perilus to be made keaper of others. And yet was he a verie wiſe man, that made this the verie figure of an unlearned, and of an unrewelie Prince.

Learninge.

Learninge moſt neceſſarie for Princes.

Xenoph. in ἀπομνημ.

* This letter to Queen *Elizabeth* is now firſt publiſhed from a manuſcript.

The deformitie and hurte of ignorance, the cumlines and good of learning in a Prince, is well ſet out, as your Majeſtie well knoweth, in *Xenophon*, and *Iſocrates:* but yet no otherwiſe, then like a well painted image, without ſenſe, without life, in compariſon of that livelie voice and tromp of the Holie Ghoste, ſounding dailie in everie good Chriſtian Princes eares, *Nunc reges intelligite: Erudimini qui judicatis terram*; and that joyned with a terrible ſore threate, *Ne forte iraſcatur Dominus, et pereatis de via juſta.*

Pſ. 2°.

Some would have Princes not learned.

Some, ſuppoſed wiſe men, would not have Princes learned: but proude is theyr wiſdom, that will nedes be wiſer then the Holie Ghoste: and ſuch is theyr wiſdom, that would fill their owne coffers by the folie of theyr Prince. Therefor, let no good Prince be aſhamed of good learninge, and namelie of Gods learninge, ſeeinge God himſelf doth will them thereunto, and that by the voice of ſuch a teacher, as a Prince, be he never ſo greate, never ſo wiſe, may wel enoughe become his ſcholer. For this teacher, was not onlie a Kinge himſelf, but the beſt Kinge, and beſt learned Kinge, that ever God made Kinge upon earthe. And he was brought up in that ſchole, where the Holie Ghoste himſelfe was maſter: and he ſuch a doer and woorker in that ſchole, as his hand and tonge was his Maſter's chiefeſt pen, and ſtyle, as he witneſſeth in plain wordes himſelf, *Lingua mea calamus ſcribæ velociter ſcribentis.* This Kinge was alſo, nigheſt in authoritie, and higheſt in favore, with God, Kinge of all Kinges: for, what Kinge, or man elſe, hard ever ſo frendelie a worde from Gods owne mowthe, *Inveni virum ſecundum cor meum:* Howe oft doth God ſaye in Scripture, I will do ſo, and I will not do ſo, for my ſervant *David* ſake? How happie is that Prince, of whom God will ſpeak ſo? but how more happie is that Prince and all his too, for whom God will do ſo? And therefore, what a comfort is it to a godlie Prince, to learne of ſuch a teacher: to folowe ſuch a guide: to reade his life: to ſee his actes: to have his counſel always at hand, not onlie for the beſt civil government over his people, but for his owne private life betwixte him and God.

David, the beſt teacher of Princes.

Pſ. 44.

The beſt commentarie for Davides Pſalmes.

It is moſt true that St. *Hierome* ſayth: that every mannes owne conſcience is the beſt commentarie, to underſtand, with moſt profet, the Pſalmes of *David:* for benefites to give thanks: for offences to aſk pardon: for miſerie to ſeeke comfort: for injurie to praie aid. For,

no man can reade *Davides* Pſalmes attentifiie, but he ſhall ſee all his owne faultes, all his owne neceſſities, all his outward deedes, all his inwarde thoughtes, ſet before his eyes.

And yet is it as trewe, that the thoughtes and ſayinges of *David*, being a Prince, cannot be neither ſo properlye applied, nor ſo deeplye underſtanded, by any other perſon, as by a Prince. For, the like ſtate and dignitie, the like charge and authoritie, do breed like thoughtes, like purpoſes, like counſelles, like actes, like eventes. Private perſones feele not commonlie the thoughts of Princes. Fewe ſervantes in common families have like thoughtes with the meaneſt maſters. Therefor, ſuch as be likeſt *David*, in life, affaires, ſtate, and dignitie, maye have the likeſt thoughtes, and uſe the likeſt talke with God, that *David* had.

A Prince, no private perſon can run thoroughlie oute, the hole courſe of *Davides* life: as, to begin his yonge yeares in Gods feare: to paſſe throughe troubles and cares, periles and dangers: by injuries of greateſt enemies: by unkindnes of neareſt frendes: by falſe ſurmiſes: by wronge impriſonmentes: by daylie threates, and feare of deathe into ſafety of life, were benefites of God to *David*, being a private man, common alſo to many other goode private men. But, to be caryed, from ſuch private miſerie, up to princelie ſtate and felicitie, is onelie the dealing of God with ſuch Princes, who are ſpeciallie regarded of God, as *David* was, and commit themſelves hollie and onelie to God, as *David* did. The race of Kinge Davides life.

And how did God deale with *David* when he had made him a King? Firſt, he ſaw the fall of all his enemies: and all their ungodlie race and bloodie faction rooted oute. And though God put into his hand the life of all thoſe that cruellie before had fought for his deathe, yet not any his private revenge for private injuries, but Gods open puniſhment, brought them all under his feete. God gave him glorious victories, over all outward enemies: and ſpeedie *meetinges with all inward conſpiracies: and after bleſſed him with a quiet government, and gave him *requiem circumquaque ab univerſis inimicis ejus*, with happy dayes, with an obedient people: where common juſtice was duely executed, and private righte to every man defended: all craftie *Achitophels* removed Reg. 2°. 7°.

* To *meet with*, in the language of that age, was to *oppoſe*, to *counteract*, to *repreſs*.

out

out of place, and good, wife, and quiet *Chufaies* bearing greateft authoritie.

Thefe bleffinges of God to King *David* were greate, but there folowed far greater, both for the comfort of himfelfe, and the happineffe of his fubjectes: for he heard of Gods own mouthe, *Thine owne feade fhall fit in thy feate*, which is the greateft comfort can come to a good Prince, and the joyfulleft felicitie that a good Prince can leave to his fubjectes.

And fo *David*, made King by Gods goodnefs, made alfo, not onely his prefent time happy, but his pofterity alfo bleffed. And therefore was *David*, a Prince, of himfelf moft worthy, to others moft happy: whofe doinges for his pofterity, as thoufands unborne were bound to bleffe, fo all that heare of it, are driven to praife: the worthieft example for all good Princes to folowe, that ever God fet before Princes eyes.

Moft noble Princeffe, and my beft Ladie and Miftres, I ofte thinking of this race of Davides life; of his former miferies, of his later felicities, of Gods dealing with him in all pointes, to bring happineffe to his prefent tyme, and fafety to his pofterity, have had, for many like caufes, many like thoughtes, even of the like life and ftate of your Majefty.

And therefor, moved by good will, as your trewe fervant, and caried by dewtie, as a faithful fubject, and bound by many benefites of your moft bountiful goodnes towardes me, and fpeciallie becaufe it pleafed your Highneffe, this laft year, not onelie by your letters and commandement to the Courte of the Exchequer, but alfo by your owne prefent talke with my L. Archeb. of *York*, clearlie to deliver me, firft, from the miferie of thofe long, careful, and coftelie trobles of the lawe: and after, from the injurie, that fome would have offered me, in furprifing your Majeftyes benefite from me, I thought good to offer to your Highneffe this book, with this letter, as a trewe fervante doth in *Euripides*, to a moft noble Queen, when he gave unto her the like token of good will, for the like delivery out of trobles and care: fayinge then, for no juffter cauffe, nor with better hart, than I do now to your Majeftye,

Αλλ' ὦ φίλη δέσποινα εὐμενῶς δέχου,
Φιλον φίλε μνημόσυνον ἐκδικουμένου.

And to offer this book of Scripture unto your Majeſtie, before any other, good reaſon, I ſuppoſe, doth move me. For though all Scripture, as the Apoſtle ſaith, is written for all mens teachinge, yet ſome peece is fitter to one perſon than another, to reade, for themſelves, by themſelves, privately alone. As the *Book of Wiſdom*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Jeſus Sirach*, for all men both learned and * lewde. *Leviticus*, *Numeri*, the *Songes of Solomon*, *Daniel*, the *Apocalips*, and ſuch like, chiefly for deepe learned men, and not for every fonde heade, and curious ſpirit. The book of *Judges*, the *Preacher of Solomon*, for civil governors in common offices, for maſters and fathers in private families. But the books of *Samuel* and the reſt of the *Kinges*, ſpeciallie for all good Kinges and Princes.

This volume conteneth two books: the firſt, the life of *Saul*, the image of an ill Prince, the deformed face of a miſerable kingdom, where God and his goodneſſe is forgotten, Gods voice not hard, right religion perverted, trewe ſacrifices, either quite left off, or coldlie obſerved, God worſhipped, as *Saul* liſted, not as God preſcribed, good *Samuel* deſpiſed, his counſel derided, *Baals* preſtes borne withall, and openlie authoriſed, hill altars erected, ſpiritual fornication with *Ægypte* and *Babylon* every where ocupied. Thus *Saul*, firſt halfing with God, (as when God gave *Amalec* into his hand) then halting in religion, and at laſte, quite falling from God and religion both, and flying to *Baal* and develiſhe forcerie, brought his own ſtate to utter deſtruction, and his kingdom to extreme miſerie. For the contempte of God and religion brought his common-welthe to utter ruin, as it hath, and will do, all other kingdomes. And in what order? or rather, by what miſorder? Surelie, by theſe ſteppes and degrees, all went dounward, wilful luſt ſhut up all order of juſtice; open injurie oppreſſed good men. *David* was untrewelie ſuſpected, and cruellie perſecuted: vain and ill men bare greateſt ſwinge, good *Jonathan* onelie excepted, placed in courte by Gods providence, for *Davides* and other good mennes comfort. And thus, luſt and vanitie ſecretlie within, injuſtice and miſchief openlie abrode, went with full tyde and winde, in *Saules* kingdom and courte, untill the blaſt of Gods wrathe overwhelmed all up ſet downe: firſt by

Saul and his kingdom.

1° Reg. 28°.

* *Lewd* is *lay*, or *popular*.

all plages at home, then by a ſtrange nation, theyr neybor, the old enemie of *Iſrael*; by whoſe invaſion and cruel ſworde, *Saul* loſte his ſtate, loſte his life, diſpoſſeſſed his owne ſeede, undid his poſteritie, and left his kingdom to a ſtrange familie. This hiſtorie, for the miſerie, is dreedfull to be hard, but for the example and warning, profitable for all good Princes, dailie to reade, and adviſedlie to marke.

David and his kingdom.

The ſecond booke conteneth the life of *David*, the image of a good Prince, a faire picture of a floriſhinge ſtate and happie time, when God was alwayes in mynde, and his former benefites, his former deliveries from danger of deathe, never utterlie forgotten, Gods owne religion maintened, Gods voice onelie hard; Gods own ſacrifices, as God himſelf appointed, earneſtlie obſerved, good *Nathan* highlie reverenced, his advice never refuſed, his free tonge, his hevie meſſage from God, neyther then rebuked with wordes, nor after revenged with deedes, but, by and by, moſt humbly aunſwered, with *Ego peccavi domino:* and therefore *David* hard joyfullie againe, *Et Dominus tranſtulit peccatum tuum, non morieris. Baal* and *Dagon*, and all theyr preſtes, were utterlie baniſhed. All hill aultars fullie rooted oute, all idolatrie and ſuperſtition of *Ægypte* and *Babylon* cleane forſaken. Thus *David*, by fearinge, ſervinge, and holdinge himſelf faſt by God and his religion, and thoughe ſometymes fallinge, yet not perverſedlie cleavinge to wilfulneſſe, but meeklie acknowledginge his owne wickedneſſe, not frowardlie lyinge ſtill, but ſpeedelie ryſing up at Gods callinge, brought his own ſtate to hieſt dignitie, and his people to greateſt felicitie. And in the ende, had this joyfull bleſſinge from Gods owne mouthe, by *Nathans* meſſage, which all trewe *Engliſhe* harts dailie do praye, that God will ſend the ſame unto your Majeſtie; *Excitabo ſemen tuum poſtea, quod egredietur de utero tuo, et regnum ſeminis tui perpetuo firmabo.* Whereunto, I truſt God, your Majeſty, and all good men, will moſt gladlie, with hart and hand, ſay all, *Amen.*

2 Reg.

The image of theſe two Princes lives, the one good, the other bad, and Gods preſent dealing with them both, is a marvelous picture for all men to look upon, yea, thoughe they be but private perſones, and onelie ſtanders by: but moſt neceſſarie for all Princes to marke and muſe upon, if eyther the dreedful feare of Gods wrathe, or the joyful hope of Gods favor, do any thing touch theyr hartes. And theyr hartes,

of

of all other, oughte chieflye to be touched with both: for though God be *Scrutator cordium omnium hominum*, yet it is ſpoken for the hie prerogative of Princes, *Corda regum in manu Dei ſunt:* that is to ſay, God immediately, by himſelfe governeth, and with his preſent eye beholdeth, the deedes and thoughtes of Princes. This is no opinion of philoſophie, but the trothe of Gods own doctrine, and that ſo certaine and ſenſible a trothe, as there is no Prince, be he never ſo good, never ſo bad, but his owne conſcience doth daily and hourlie beare good witneſſe to the ſame. And trothe alſo it is, that, as theyr dignitie is hieſt, ſo is the burden of theyr charge hevieſt, and therefore the care for theyr accompte oughte to be greateſt, and for this cauſe to, a greate deale the greater, becauſe no man, but God onelie, muſt be the auditor thereof.

But how delt God with *Saul?* God gave unto *Saul*, an ill King, great and many bleſſinges, a comlie ſtature of bodie: faire qualities of the mynde: he hard of *Samuels* mouthe, *Quia Dominus tecum eſt*; and, *in manu tua liberabit Deus Iſrael.* And yet, at the laſt, he hard again of *Samuel*, *Stultus factus es:* and after, this ſore threate, *Jam non erit firmum regnum tuum:* and that with the plaine cauſe why, *Quia abjeciſti verbum Domini, Dominus abjecit te.* And ſo, in the ende, Gods hie giftes, not thankfullie remembered, but ungodlie uſed, turned all to *Saules* greater deſtruction.

On the other ſide, *David*, a good King, was toſſed with all miſeries, by danger of foreſt injuries, by griefe of greateſt unkindnes; yet all ſuch miſhaps, patientlie taken at Gods hand, and the deliverie from them by God, never forgotten by *David*, turned all to *Davides* greateſt felicitie. But *David* was wrapte in a ſtranger caſe and kinde of miſerie: for when God had ſhewed him his greateſt favor, and had given him the hieſt benefites that man in earth could receive, yet God ſuffered him to fall into the deepeſt pitte of wickednes; to committe the cruelleſt murder, and ſhamefulleſt adultrie, that ever did man upon earthe. Whereinto he did not ſtumble by ignorance, nor ſlide by weakneſſe, nor onelie fall by wilfulneſſe, but went to it adviſedlie, purpoſing all * practices, and finding out all fetches that miſchiefe could imagine, to

* *Practice*, in the language of our author's age, was commonly taken in an ill ſenſe, for *wicked acts*, or *unlawful ſtratagems*.

bring miſchiefe to paſſe. Yet though *David* had ſhaken from him Gods feare, yet God had not taken from *David* his grace. For, when God did knock, *David* did open: when *Nathan* ſaid boldlie, *Tu feciſti malum coram Domino*, *David* anſwered humblie, *Ipſe peccavi Domino.* And ſo, * out of this foule matter, is gathered the faireſt example, and beſt leſſon, both for Prince and private man, that is in all Scripture; for the hieſt and beſt, alwayes to beware; for the meaneſt and worſt never to diſpare; and that, with a marvelous note of King *Davids* ſingular good nature, who was angrie with himſelfe, for ill doinge, and not with good *Nathan*, for trewe ſpeakinge.

But your Majeſty, in reading the hole courſe of this holie hiſtorie, ſhall better judge of all theſe pointes, and many other mo, if it may pleaſe you to reade with all, theſe learned commentaries of *P. Martyr*, who beſide the expreſſing of this ſtorie, and opening all hard doubtes thereof, hath godlie and learnedlie, as a man of greate experience and deepe judgement, decided many notable common places, belonginge ſpeciallie to the good order of civil government, and therefore verie fitte for the knowledge of all good Princes.

And therefore was I verie willinge to offer this booke to your Majeſty, wherein, as in a faire glaſſe, your Majeſty ſhall ſee and acknowledge, by Gods dealinges with *David*, even verie many like good dealinges of God with your Majeſty; and thereby finde yourſelf bounde, both daily to ſaye with *David*, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ tribuit mihi*; and alſo to promiſe and performe with *David*, *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, et ſemper laus ejus in ore meo.* And ſo, doing as *David* did, heare from God, as *David* hard, *Inveni mulierem ſecundum cor meum:* and in the ende have as *David* had, that is, moſt proſperitie, and ſureſt felicitie, for you, youres, and youre poſteritie. God bleſſe your Majeſtie with all felicitie, and ſend you, with many long yeares, all harts eaſe.

XXX°. OCTOB.
M. D. LXVI°.

Your Majeſties
Moſt bounden, and
Faithfull Servante,

R. ASCHAM.

* This had been a very proper admonition after the execution of Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*.

THE

SCHOLE MASTER;

Or plaine and perfite Way of teaching Children, to underſtand, write, and ſpeake, the LATIN TONGE, but ſpecially purpoſed for the private bringing up of Youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houſes, and commodious alſo for all ſuch as have forgot the LATIN TONGE, and would, by themſelves, without a Scholemaſter, in ſhort Tyme, and with ſmall Paines, recover a ſufficient Habilitie, to underſtand, write, and ſpeake LATIN.

By ROGER ASCHAM.

Anno 1571.

AT LONDON,

Printed by JOHN DAYE, dwelling over ALDERSGATE.

Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis, per Decennium.

To the Honorable Sir WILLIAM CECILL, Knight, principal Secretary to the Quenes Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

SUNDRY and reaſonable be the cauſes why learned men have uſed to offer and dedicate ſuch workes as they put abrode, to ſome ſuch perſonage as they thinke fitteſt, eyther in reſpect of abilitie of defenſe, or ſkill for judgement, or private regard of kindneſſe and dutie. Every one of thoſe conſiderations, Sir, move me of right to offer this my late huſbands, M. ASCHAMS worke unto you. For well remembryng how much all good learnyng oweth unto you for defence thereof, as the Univerſitie of *Cambrige*, of which my ſaid late huſband was a member, have, in choſing you theyr worthy chauncellor, acknowledged; and how happily you have ſpent your time in ſuch ſtudies, and caried the uſe thereof to the right ende, to the good ſervice of the Quenes Majeſty, and your countrey, to all our benefites; thyrdly, how much my ſayd huſband was many wayes bound unto you, and how gladly and comfortably he uſed in his life to recogniſe and report your goodneſſe toward him, leavyng with me, then his poore widow, and a great * ſort of orphanes, a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I have truly found to me and myne, and therefore do duely and dayly pray for you and yours: I could not finde any man for whoſe name this booke was more agreeable for hope of protection, more mete for ſubmiſſion to judgement, nor more due for reſpect of worthineſſe of your part, and thankfulneſſe of my huſbandes and myne. Good I truſt it ſhall do, as I am put in great hope by many very well learned that can well judge thereof. Mete therefore I compt it that ſuch good as my huſband was able to do and leave to the common-weale, it ſhould be

* *Sort* is *train, company, number.*

received

received under your name, and that the world ſhould owe thanke thereof to you, to whom my huſband, the authour of it, was, for good receyved of you, moſt dutifully bounden. And ſo beſeechyng you, to take on you the defence of this booke, to advance the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance, to publicke uſe and benefite, and to accept the thankful recognition of me and my poore children, truſtyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commending the proſperous eſtate of you and yours to God, whom you ſerve, and whoſe you are, I reſt to trouble you.

Your humble

MARGARET ASCHAM.

A PREFACE to the READER.

WHEN the great plage was at *London*, the yeare 1563, the Queenes Majeſtie Queen *Elizabeth* lay at her caſtle of *Windſore:* where, upon the 10th day of *December* *, it fortuned, that, in Sir *William Cicells* chamber, her Highneſſe principal Secretarie, there dined together theſe perſonages, M. Secretarie himſelfe, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *J. Maſon*, D. *Wotton*, Sir *Richard Sackville* Treaſurer of the Exchequer, Sir *Walter Mildmaye* Chauncellor of the Exchequer, M. *Haddon* Maſter of Requeſtes, M. *John Aſtely* Maſter of the Jewell-Houſe, M. *Bernard Hampton*, † M. *Nicaſius*, and I. Of which number, the moſt part were of her Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privie Counſell, and the reſt ſerving her in very good place. I was glad then, and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was ſo happie to be there that day, in the companie of ſo manie wiſe and good men together, as hardly then could have beene piked out againe out of all *Englande* beſides.

M. Secretarie hath this accuſtomed maner, though his head be never ſo full of moſt weightie affaires of the realme, yet, ‡ at dinner time he doth ſeem to lay them always aſide: and findeth ever fitte occaſion to taulke pleaſantlie of other matters, but moſt gladlie of ſome matter of learning: wherein he will curteſlie heare the minde of the meaneſt at his table.

Not long after our ſitting doune, " I have ſtrange newes brought me, M. Secre-
" ſayth M. Secretarie, this morning, that diverſe ſcholers of *Eaton* be tarie.

* This was about five years before the author's death; for he died the 30th of *December* in the year 1568, in the 53d year of his age.

† *Nicaſius* was a Greek of *Conſtantinople*, who came into *England* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, partly to propoſe an agreement between the Greek church and that of this nation; and partly to collect what charity he could for the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians of his own country.

‡ Thus *Craſſus:* " Eo autem omni ſermone confecto, tantam in Craſſo humanitatem " fuiſſe, ut cum lauti accubuiſſent, tolleretur omnis illa ſuperioris triſtitia ſermonis, eaque " eſſet in homine jucunditas, et tantus in jocando lepos, ut dies inter eos Curiæ fuiſſe vide- " retur, convivium Tuſculani." *Cicero de Orat.*

" runne

" runne away from the ſchole, for feare of beating." Whereupon, M. Secretarie took occaſion to wiſhe, that ſome more diſcretion were in many ſcholemaſters, in uſing correction, than commonlie there is: who many times puniſhe rather the weakneſs of nature, than the fault of the ſcholer. Whereby many ſcholers, that might elſe prove well, be driven to hate learning, before they knowe what learning meaneth: and ſo are made willing to forſake their booke, and be glad to be put to any other kinde of living.

M. Peter. M. *Peter*, as one ſomewhat ſevere of nature, ſaid plainlie, " That the " rodde onelie was the ſworde, that muſt keepe the ſchole in obedience,
M. Wotton. " and the ſcholer in good order." M. *Wotton*, a man milde of nature, with ſoft voice and fewe wordes, inclined to M. Secretaries judgment,
Ludus literarius. and ſaid, " In mine opinion, the ſchole-houſe ſhould be in deede, as " it is called by name, * the houſe of play and pleaſure, and not of feare
Plato de Rep. " and bondage: and as I do remember, ſo ſaith †*Socrates* in one place of " *Plato*. And therefore, if a rodde carie the feare of a ſworde, it is " no marville, if thoſe that be fearfull of nature, choſe rather to for- " ſake the place, than to ſtande alwayes within the feare of a ſworde
M. Maſon. " in a ‡ fonde mans handling." M. *Maſon*, after his maner, was verie merie with both parties, pleaſantlie playing, both with the ſhrewde touches of many curſte boyes, and with the ſmall diſcretion of many
M. Haddon. ** leude ſcholemaſters. M. *Haddon* was fullie of M. *Peters* opinion, and ſaid, " That the beſt ſcholemaſter of our time was the‖ greateſt beater," and

* *Grajo Schola nomine dicta eſt,*
Juſta laboriferis tribuantur ut otia muſis. Auſonius Edyll. 4.

† The Paſſage, to which the Dean of *Canterbury* here refers, is in *Plato*'s 7th book of his *Repub.* not far from the end, and is afterwards cited by Mr. *Aſcham*. I ſhall here tranſcribe it ſomewhat more fully for the reader's ſatisfaction. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς προπαιδείας, ἣν τῆς Διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν ἕστι χρὴ προβάλλειν, οὐχ ὡς ἐπάναγκες μαθεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διδαχῆς ποιαμένους. Τί δή; Ὅτι (ἦνδ' ἐγὼ) οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας τον ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μανθάνειν. Οἱ μὲν γαρ τὰ σώματι πονοι, βίᾳ πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν το σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται· ψυχῇ δὲ βιαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμενον μάθημα. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Μὴ τοίνυν βίᾳ (εἶπον) ὦ ἄριστε, τους παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον διός τ' ἦς καθορᾶν ἐφ' ὃ ἕκαστος πέφυκε.

‡ *Fond*, is *foolish*.

** *Lewd* originally ſignified *lay*, not clerical, thence *unlearned*, thence groſs of manners, ſavage, laſtly libidinous.

‖ This was *Nic. Udal*, maſter of *Eaton* ſchool, whom *Bale* ſtiles *Elegantiſſimus omnium bonarum literarum magiſter, et earum feliciſſimus interpres:* In the appendix I have given

a

and named the perſon. " Though," quoth I, " it was his good for- The author of this booke.
" tune to ſend from his ſchole unto the univerſity *one of the beſt ſcho-
" lers indeede of all our time, yet wiſe men do thincke, that that came
" ſo to paſſe, rather by the great towardneſſe of the ſcholer, than by
" the great beating of the maſter; and whether this be true or no, you
" yourſelfe are beſt witneſſe." I ſaid ſomewhat further in the matter, how and why yong children were ſoner allured by love, than driven by beating, to attayne good learning: wherein I was the bolder to ſay my minde, becauſe M. Secretarie courteſlie provoked me thereunto, or elſe, in ſuch a companie, and namelie in his preſence, my wonte is, to be more willing to uſe mine eares than to occupy my tonge.

Sir *Walter Mildmaye*, M. *Aſtely*, and the reſt, ſaid verie litle; onelie Sir *Rich. Sackville* ſaid nothing at all. After dinner I went up to read with the Queenes Majeſtie. We red then together in the *Greeke* tonge, as I well remember, that noble oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Æſchines*, for his falſe dealing in his ambaſſage to King *Philip* of *Macedonie*. Sir *Rich. Sackville* came up ſone after: and finding me in her Majeſties Sir R. Sack-
privy chamber, he tooke me by the hand, and carying me to a windoe, villes com-
ſaid, " M. *Aſcham*, I would not for a good deale of monie have been, munication
" this day, abſent from dinner. Where, though I ſaid nothing, yet with the au-
" I gave as good eare, and do conſider as well the taulke that paſſed, as thor of this booke.

a ſpecimen of Mr. Udal's elegancy both in verſe and proſe. His ſeverity his own ſcholar, Mr. *Tuſſer*, has ſufficiently proclaimed in theſe lines:

From Pauls *I went, to* Eaton *ſent,*
To learn ſtraightways the Latin *phraſe;*
Where fifty three ſtripes given to me
At once I had:
For fault but ſmall, or none at all,
It came to paſs, thus beat I was:
See Udal, *ſee the mercy of thee*
To me poor lad.

* This was Mr. *Haddon*, ſometime fellow of *King*'s college in *Cambridge*, very much complimented by all the learned men of that age; and of whom Queen *Elizabeth*, upon ſome compariſon made betwixt him and *Buchanan*, thus gave her opinion; *Buchananum omnibus antepono: Haddonum nemini poſtpono.*

His works are collected into one volume, and publiſhed by Dr. *Hatcher*, to whoſe care and diligence we owe the catalogue of our ſociety. I have thought proper to print one of his ſpeeches, which he made to the ſcholars of *Eaton*, that ſomething of his great abilities may be known.

" any one did there. M. Secretarie ſaid very wiſely, and moſt truely, that " many yong wittes be driven to hate learninge, before they know what " learninge is. I can be good witneſs to this myſelfe: for a fond ſchole- " maſter, before I was fullie fourtene yeare olde, drave me ſo, with fear of " beating, from all love of learninge, as nowe, when I know what diffe- " rence it is to have learninge, and to have little, or none at all, I feele it " my greateſt griefe, and find it my greateſt hurte, that ever came to me, " that it was my ſo ill chance to light upon ſo lewde a ſcholemaſter. But " ſeeing it is but in vain to lament thinges paſte, and alſo wiſdome to " looke to thinges to come, ſurelie, God willing, if God lend me life, I " will make this my miſhap, ſome occaſion of good hap to litle * *Robert* " *Sackville*, my ſonnes ſonne; for whoſe bringinge up I would gladlie, " if it ſo pleaſe you, uſe ſpeciallie your good advice. I heare ſay, you " have a ſonne much of his age: we will deale thus togither. Point " you out a ſcholemaſter, who, by your order, ſhall teache my ſonne " and yours, and for all the reſt I will provide, yea though they three " do coſt me a couple of hundred poundes by year; and beſides you ſhall " find me as faſt a friend to you and yours, as perchance any you have." Which promiſe the worthie Gentleman ſurelie kept with me untill his dying daye.

The chief pointes of this booke.

We had then further taulke togither, of bringing up of children: of the nature of quicke and hard wittes: of the right choice of a good witte: of fear and love in teaching children. We paſſed from children and came to younge men, namely, Gentlemen: we taulked of their to much liberty to live as they luſt; of their letting louſe to ſone to over-much experience of ill, contrarie to the good order of many good olde common wealthes of the *Perſians* and *Greekes:* of witte gathered, and good fortune gotten by ſome, onely by experience, without learninge: and laſtlie, he required of me very earneſtlie, to ſhewe, what I thought of the common goinge of *Engliſhemen* into *Italie*. " But, ſayth he, be- " cauſe this place, and this tyme, will not ſuffer ſo long taulke, as " theſe good matters require, therefore I praye you, at my requeſt, and " at your leyſure, put in ſome order of writing, the chiefe pointes of " this our taulke, concerning the right order of teachinge, and honeſty

* This great care of the treaſurer's in the education of his two grandſons, my Lord *Clarendon* has likewiſe taken notice of in the firſt book of his hiſtory.

" of living, for the good bringing up of children, and yong men. And " ſurelie, beſide contenting me, you ſhall both pleaſe and profit very " many others." I made ſome excuſe by lacke of habilitie, and weake-neſſe of bodie: " Well, ſaith he, I am not now to learne what you " can do. Our dear friende, † good Mr. *Goodricke*, whoſe judgement I " could well believe, did once for all ſatisfie me fullie therein. Againe, " I heard you ſay, not long ago, that you may thanke Sir *John Cheke* " for all the learninge you have: and I know very well myſelfe that " you did teach the Queene. And therefore, ſeeing God did ſo bleſſe " you to make you the ſcholer of the beſt maſter, and alſo the ſchole-" maſter of the beſt ſcholer, that ever were in our time, ſurelie you " ſhould pleaſe God, benefite your countrie, and honeſt your own " name, if you would take the paines to impart to others, what you " learned of ſuch a maſter, and how ye taught ſuch a ſcholer. And, " in uttering the ſtuffe ye received of the one, in declaring the order " ye tooke with the other, ye ſhall never lacke neither matter nor ma-" ner, what to write, nor how to write, in this kind of argument."

I beginning ſome further excuſe, ſodainlie was called to come to the Queene. The night following I ſlept little, my head was ſo full of this our former talke, and I ſo mindfull ſomewhat to ſatisfie the honeſt requeſt of ſo deare a friend. I thought to prepare ſome little treatiſe, for a new years gift, that *Chriſtmaſs*. But, as it chaunceth to buſie builders, ſo, in building this my poor ſchole-houſe (the rather becauſe the form of it is ſomewhat new, and differing from others) the work roſe dailie higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginninge.

And though it appear now, and be in very deede, but a ſmall cotage, poore for the ſtuffe, and rude for the workmanſhip, yet, in going forward, I found the ſite ſo good, as I was lothe to give it over, but the making ſo coſtlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many times I wiſhed, that ſome one of thoſe three, my deare friendes, with full purſes, Sir *Thomas Smithe*, M. *Haddon*, or M. *Watſon*, had had the doing of it. Yet, neverthelefſe, I myſelfe ſpending gladly that little that I gatte at home by good Sir *John Cheke*, and that that I borrowed abroad of my

† Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor in King *Edward*'s reign.

frend *Sturmius*, beſide ſomewhat that was left me in reverſion by my olde maſters, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Cicero*, I have at laſt patched it up, as I could, and as you ſee. If the matter be mean, and meanly handled, I pray you beare both with me and it: for never worke went up in worſe wether, with mo lettes and ſtoppes, than this poore ſchole-houſe of mine. * *Weſtminſter-Hall* can bear ſome witneſſe, beſide † much weakneſſe of bodie, but more trouble of minde by ſome ſuch ſores, as grieve me to touche them myſelfe, and therefore I propoſe not to open them to others. And, in middes of outward injuries and inward cares, to encreaſe them withall, ‡ good Sir *Richard Sackville* dieth, that worthie Gentleman; that earneſt favourer and furtherer of Gods true religion; that faithful ſervitor to his Prince and countrie: a lover of learning, and all learned men; wiſe in all doinges; curteſſe to all perſons; ſhewing ſpite to none; doing good to many; and, as I well found, to me ſo faſt a friend, as I never loſt the like before. When he was gone, my hart was dead. There was not one that wore a black gown for him, who carried a heavier hart for him than I. When he was gone, I caſt this booke awaie; I could not look upon it, but with weeping eyes, in remembering him, who was the onelie ſetter on to do it; and would have beene, not onlie a glad commender of it, but alſo a ſure and certaine comfort to me and mine for it. Almoſt two years togither, this booke lay ſcattered and neglected, and had beene quite given over of me, if the goodneſſe of one had not given me ſome life and ſpirite againe. God, the mover of goodneſſe, proſper alwais him and his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine; and, I truſt to God, ſhall comfort more and more. Of whom, moſt juſtly I may ſay, and verie oft, and alwaies gladlie,

Sir William Cicill.

* That he was unhappily engaged in law appears from Dr. *Haddon* to his friend Sir *Thomas Smith*, reſident in *France*. "Scio illum utriuſque noſtrum eſſe ſtudioſiſſimum, et audio ipſum hoc tempore litibus juris permoleſtè exerceri."

† "Ingraveſcente jam ætate, à nocturnis & pomeridianis ſtudiis abhorrebat: Antelucanis & matutinis temporibus legebat, commentabatur, ſtudebat, ſcribebat. Erat corpore imbecillis, & valetudinarius, multis morbis fractus, continentibus febribus correptus, variis ægrotationibus afflictus; quæ paucis ante mortem annis eum in hecticam febrim conjecerunt." This is taken out of Mr. *Grant*'s excellent oration.

‡ Sir *Richard Sackville* died the ſame day that Sir *John Maſon* did, in the year 1566, and in the eighth of Queen *Elizabeth*, two years before Mr. *Aſcham*'s death.

I am wont to say, that sweet verse of *Sophocles*, spoken by * *Oedipus* to worthy *Theseus*,

Ἔχω γὰρ ἃ ἔχω διὰ σὲ, κοὐκ ἄλλον βροτῶν. Soph. in Oed. Col.

This hope hath helped me to end this booke: which, if he allowe, I shall thinke my labours well employed, and shall not much esteme the misliking of any others. And I trust, he shall thinke the better of it, because he shall finde the best part thereof to come out of his schole, whom he, of all men, loved and liked best.

Yet some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgement in learninge, do thinke I take to much paines, and spend to much time, in settinge forth these childrens affairs. But these good men were never brought up in *Socrates* schole, who saith plainlie, That no man goeth about a more † godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing up, both of his own and other mens children.

Therefore, I trust, good and wise men will thinke well of this my doing. And of other, that thinke otherwise, I will thinke myselfe, they are but men, to be pardoned for their follie, and pitied for their ignorance.

In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of religion, honestie in living, right order in learninge. In which three waies, I praie God, my poore children may diligently waulke: for whose sake, as nature moved, and reason required, and necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines.

For seeing, at my death, I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore, in my life-time, I thought good to bequeath unto

* *Oedipus* speaks to *Theseus* in a transport of joy, having through his assistance recovered his two daughters out of the hands of *Creon*.

† *Plato in initio Theagis:* Ἀλλὰ μὲν δή, ὦ Δημόδοκε, καὶ, λέγεταί γε συμβολὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι εἴπερ ἄν καὶ ἄλλη ἥτις ἂν ἐστιν ἱερά, καὶ αὐτὴ ἂν εἴη περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συμβελεύῃ. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὅτου θειοτέρου ἂν ἄνθρωπος βελεύσαιτο, ἢ περὶ Παιδείας καὶ τῶν αὑτοῦ, καὶ τῶν αὑτοῦ εἰκείων. This passage is cited by the author, though not so fully.

them,

them, in this little booke, as in my laſt will and teſtament, the right waie to good learninge; which if they followe, with the feare of God, they ſhall verie well come to ſufficiencie of livinge.

I wiſhe alſo, with all my heart, that yonge M. *Rob. Sackville* may take that fruite of this labour, that his worthie grand-father purpoſed he ſhould have done; and if any other do take, either proffet or pleaſure thereby, they have cauſe to thanke M. *Robert Sackville*, for whom ſpeciallie this my Schole-maſter was provided.

And one thing I would have the reader conſider in reading this booke, that, becauſe no ſchole-maſter hath charge of any childe before he enter into his ſchole, therefore, I leaving all former care of their good bringing up to wiſe and good parentes, as a matter not belonging to the ſchole-maſter, I do appoynt this my ſchole-maſter, then, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge laſteth not long, but untill the ſcholer be made hable to go to the Univerſitie, to procede in Logicke, Rhetoricke, and other kindes of learninge.

Yet, if my Schole-maſter, for love he beareth to his ſcholer, ſhall teach him ſomewhat for his furtherance, and better judgement in learninge, * that may ſerve him ſeven yeare after in the Univerſitie, he doth his ſcholer no more wrong, nor deſerveth no worſe name thereby, than he doth in *London*, who, ſelling ſilke or cloth unto his friend, doth give him better meaſure than either his promiſe or bargaine was.

Farewell in Chriſt.

* Mr. *Aſcham* ſeems in this place to oppoſe *Quintilian*, and that with good reaſon. "Tenuit "conſuetudo, quæ quotidie magis invaleſcit, ut præceptoribus eloquentiæ, Latinis quidem "ſemper, ſed etiam Græcis interim, diſcipuli ſerius quam ratio poſtulat, traderentur.—— "Itaque quod eſt maxime ridiculum, non ante ad declamandi magiſtrum mittendus vide- "tur puer, quam declamare jam ſciat. Nos ſuum cuique profeſſioni modum demus." Initio libri ſecundi.

The

The FIRST BOOKE for the YOUTH.

AFTER the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of ſpeach, let him then learne the right joyning togither of ſubſtantives with adjectives, the nowne with the verbe, the relative with the antecedent. And, in learninge further his ſyntaxis, by mine advice, he ſhall not uſe the common order in common ſcholes, for making of *Latines:* whereby the childe commonly learneth, firſt, an evill choice of wordes, (and "* Right choice of wordes, ſaith *Cæſar*, is the foundation of eloquence;") then a wrong placing of wordes; and, laſtlie, an ill framing of the ſentence, with a perverſe judgement, both of wordes and ſentences. Theſe faultes, taking once roote in youth, be never, or hardlie, pluckt away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from learninge, than the care they have to ſatisfie their maſters in making of *Latines*. Making of Latines marreth children.

For the ſcholer is commonlie beat for the makinge, when the maſter were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the ſame: the maſter many times being as ignorant as the childe, what to ſaie properlie and fitlie to the matter.

Two ſcholemaſters have ſet forth in print, either of them a booke of ſuch kinde of *Latines*, † *Horman* and *Whittington* ‡. A childe ſhall

* *Cicero de claris Orat. Sect.* 72. "Quinetiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te "ipſum (inquit ad me intuens) de ratione Latinè loquendi accuratiſſime ſcripſerit; primoque "in libro dixerit, *Verborum delectum, originem eſſe eloquentiæ.*"

† Mr *William Horman*, born at *Saliſbury*, was ſometime maſter of *Eaton* ſchool. As to his performance, though it is here cenſured, and perhaps not unjuſtly, as of little uſe to promote learning; yet it is highly recommended by that learned gentleman, Mr. *Robert Aldrich* of *Eaton*, (whom *Eraſmus* mentions with great reſpect) in a very long and elegant epiſtle; and Mr. *Lily* has expreſſed his opinion of it in this following epigram:

Auſoniæ gentis linguam ſi quæris, et optas
Pulſâ barbarie doctius ore loqui;
Hoc opus Hormanni diſcas puer, utile munus,
Et veterum referens aurea dicta patrum.

See more of him in the ſecond book.

‡ *Whittington* was born at *Lichfield*, or near it. He wrote many grammatical books, which *Lilly*'s work drove out of the ſchools. He called himſelf *Archipoeta Anglice.* **

learne

learne of the better of them, that, which an other daie, if he be wiſe and come to judgement, he muſt be faine to unlearne againe.

There is a waie, touched in the* firſt booke of *Cicero de Oratore*, which, wiſelie brought into ſcholes, truely taught, and conſtantly uſed, would not only take wholly away this butcherlie feare of making of *Latines*, but would alſo, with eaſe and pleaſure, and in ſhort time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of ſentences, an eaſy underſtanding of the tonge, a readineſſe to ſpeake, a facilitie to write, a true judgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge ſoever he doth uſe.

The waie is this. After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the maſter read unto him the *Epiſtles of Cicero*, gathered togither and choſen out by *Sturmius*, for the capacitie of children.

The order of teaching.

Firſt, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cauſe and matter of the letter: then let him conſtrue it into *Engliſhe* ſo oft, as the childe may eaſelie carrie awaie the underſtanding of it: laſtlie, parſe it over perfitelie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both conſtrue and parſe it over againe: ſo that it may appear, that the childe doubteth in nothing that his maſter taughte him before. After this, the childe muſt take a paper booke, and, ſitting in ſome place, where no man ſhall prompe him, by himſelf, let him tranſlate into *Engliſhe* his former leſſon. Then ſhewing it to his maſter, let the maſter take from him his *Latin* booke, and, pauſing an houre at the leaſt, then let the childe tranſlate his own *Engliſhe* into *Latine* againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into *Latin*, the maſter muſt compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both togither: and where the childe doth well, either in choſing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the maſter praiſe him, and ſaie "Here ye do well." For,

Two paper bookes.

* The paſſage here referred to is in *Tully*'s firſt book *De Oratore*. "Poſtea mihi placuit, "eoque ſum uſus adoleſcens, ut ſummorum oratorum Græcas orationes explicarem. Quibus "lectis hoc aſſequebar, ut, cum ea, quæ legerem Græcè, Latinè redderem, non ſolum op-"timis verbis uterer, & tamen uſitatis, ſed etiam exprimerem quædam verba imitando, "quæ nova noſtris eſſent, dummodo eſſent idonea."

I aſſure you, there is no ſuch whetſtone, to ſharpen a good witte, and encourage a will to learninge, as is praiſe. Children ... by ... praiſe.

But if the childe miſſe, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worſe, or miſordering the ſentence, I would not have the maſter either frowne or chide with him, if the childe have done his diligence, and uſed no trowandſhip therein. For I know, by good experience, that a childe ſhall take more profit of two faultes gentlie warned of, than of four thinges rightlie hitte. For then the maſter ſhall have good occaſion to ſaie unto him, *Tullie* would have uſed ſuch a worde, not this: *Tullie* would have placed this worde here, not there: would have uſed this caſe, this number, this perſon, this degree, this gender: he would have uſed this moode, this tenſe, this ſimple, rather than this compound: this adverbe here, not there: he would have ended the ſentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or participle, *&c.* Gentleneſſe in teaching.

In theſe few lines I have wrapped up the moſt tedious part of Grammar, and alſo the ground of almoſt all the rules that are ſo buſilie taught by the maſter, and ſo hardlie learned by the ſcholer, in all common ſcholes; which, after this ſort, the maſter ſhall teach without all error, and the ſcholer ſhall learne without great paine, the maſter being led by ſo ſure a guide, and the ſcholer being brought into ſo plaine and eaſy a waie. And therefore we do not contemne rules, but we gladlie teache rules; and teach them more plainlie, ſenſiblie, and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common ſcholes. For when the maſter ſhall compare *Tullies* booke with his ſcholers tranſlation, let the maſter, at the firſt, lead and teach his ſcholer to joine the rules of his grammar booke with the examples of his preſent leſſon, untill the ſcholer, by himſelfe, be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example; ſo as the grammar booke be ever in the ſcholers hand, and alſo uſed of him as a dictionarie for every preſent uſe. This is a lively and perfite waie of teaching of rules; where the common waie, uſed in common ſcholes, to read the grammar alone by itſelfe, is tedious for the maſter, hard for the ſcholer, colde and uncomfortable for them both.

Let your ſcholer be never afraid to aſk you any doubt, but uſe diſcretelie the beſt alluramentes ye can, to encourage him to the ſame, leſt his over much fearinge of you drive him to ſeeke ſome miſorderlie ſhifte; as to ſeeke to be helped by ſome other booke, or to be prompted by ſome other ſcholer, and ſo go about to beguile you much, and himſelfe more.

With this waie, of good underſtanding the matter, plaine conſtruinge, diligent parſinge, dailie tranſlatinge, cheerfull admoniſhinge, and heedefull amendinge of faultes; never leaving behinde juſte praiſe for well doinge, I would have the ſcholer brought up withall, till he had red and tranſlated over the firſt booke of Epiſtles choſen out by *Sturmius*, with a good piece of a comedie of *Terence* alſo.

Latin ſpeakinge. All this while, by mine adviſe, the childe ſhall uſe to ſpeake no *Latin*: for, as *Cicero* ſaith in like mater, with like wordes, *Loquendo, male loqui diſcunt.* And that excellent learned man, * *G. Budæus*, in his *Greeke* commentaries, ſore complaineth, that, when he began to learne the *Latin* tonge, uſe of ſpeaking *Latin* at the table, and elſewhere, unadviſedlie, did bring him to ſuch an evill choice of wordes, to ſuch a crooked framing of ſentences, that no one thing did hurte or hinder him more, all the days of his life afterward, both for readineſſe in ſpeaking, and alſo good judgement in writinge.

G. Budæus.

In very deede, if children were brought up in ſuch a houſe †, or ſuch a ſchole, where the *Latin* tonge were properlie and perfitlie ſpoken, as *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi* were brought up, in their mother *Cornelias*

* "Id Laurentio (Vallæ) non aliâs accidit, quàm ex pravâ loquentium conſuetudine, "quibus aut legendis aut audiendis inviti erroris contagionem contrahimus, ſimul ex ſermone "extemporali et neglecto, cui inter familiares aſſueſcimus, præſertim puræ Latinitatis ig-"naros: Quâ noxâ fit interdum, ut quædam imprudentibus excidant; id quod aliquando "experti ſumus in Autographis noſtris, ita ut flagitioſæ culpæ nos perpuderet." *Budæus.*

† "Magni intereſt, quos quiſque audiat quotidie domi, quibuſcum loquatur à puero; "quemadmodum patres, pædagogi, matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epiſtolas Corneliæ, "matris Gracchorum: Apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in ſermone ma-"tris." *Cic. de claris Orat.* And again in the ſame book: "Fuit Gracchus diligentia "Corneliæ matris à puero doctus, & Græcis literis eruditus."

houſe,

houſe, ſurelie then the dailie uſe of ſpeakinge were the beſt and readieſt waie to learne the *Latin* tonge. But now, commonlie, in the beſt ſcholes in *England*, for wordes, right choice is ſmallie regarded, true propriety wholly neglected, confuſion is brought in, barbarouſneſſe is bred up ſo in young wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marred for ſpeakinge, but alſo corrupted in judgement: as with much adoe, or never at all, they be brought to right frame againe.

Yet all men covet to have their children ſpeake *Latin:* and ſo do I verie earneſtlie too. We bothe have one purpoſe: we agree in deſire, we wiſhe one end, but we differ ſomewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end. Other would have them ſpeake * at all adventures; and, ſo they be ſpeakinge, to ſpeake, the maſter careth not, the ſcholer knoweth not, what. This is, to ſeeme, and not to be; excepte it be, to be bolde without ſhame, raſhe without ſkill, full of wordes without witte. I wiſhe to have them ſpeake ſo, as it may well appeare, that the braine doth governe the tongue, and that reaſon leadeth forth the taulke. † *Socrates* doctrine is true in *Plato*, and well marked, and truely uttered by *Horace* in *Arte Poetica*, that, whereſoever knowledge doth accompanie the witte, there beſt utterance doth alwaies awaite upon the tongue. For good underſtanding muſt firſt be bred in the childe, which, being nouriſhed with ſkill and uſe of writinge (as I will teach more largelie hereafter) is the onlie waie to bringe

Much writing breedeth ready ſpeaking.

* Here it is plain, Mr. *Aſcham* had *Tully* in his view. " Plerique in hoc vocem modò, " neque eam ſcienter, & vires exercent ſuas, & linguæ celeritatem incitant, verborumque " frequentia delectantur. In quo fallit eos, quod audierent, *Dicendo homines, ut dicunt, efficere* " *ſolere.* Verè enim etiam illud dicitur, *Perverſe dicere, homines perverſe dicendo, facillime* " *conſequi.* Quamobrem in iſtis ipſis exercitationibus, etſi utile eſt, etiam ſubitò ſæpe dicere, " tamen illud utilius, ſumpto ſpatio ad cogitandum, paratius atque accuratius dicere. Ca- " put autem eſt, quod (ut verè dicam) minimè facimus (eſt enim magni laboris, quem " plerique fugimus) quàm plurimùm ſcribere." *Cicero de Orat.*

† Plato in Phædro: Τὰς δὲ ὁμοιότητας ἄρτι διήλθομεν, ὅτι παντάχοῦ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδὼς, κάλλιστα ἐπίσταται εὑρίσκειν. Idem in Phædone: Ἀνὴρ ἐπιστάμενος, περὶ ὧν ἐπίσταται ἔχοι ἂν δοῦναι λόγον, ἢ οὔ; Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη (ἔφη) ὦ Σώκρατες This doctrine of *Socrates* here mentioned, *Craſſus* ſeems modeſtly to contradict, in *Tully*'s firſt book *De Oratore*, calling it rather probable, than true. " Atque illud eſt probabilius, neque tamen verum, quod Socrates " dicere ſolebat, *Omnes in eo quod ſcirent, ſatis eſſe eloquentes.*" The verſes in *Horace*, which he commends, are well known:

Scribendi rectè, ſapere eſt & principium, & fons.
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ:
Verbaque proviſam rem non invita ſequentur.

him to judgement and readineſſe in ſpeakinge: and that in farre ſhorter time (if he followe conſtantlie the * trade of this leſſon) than he ſhall do, by common teachinge of the common ſcholes in *England*.

But, to go forward, as you perceive your ſcholer to goe better and better on awaie, firſt, with underſtanding his leſſon more quicklie, with parſing more readilie, with tranſlating more ſpedelie and perfitlie then he was wonte; after, give him longer leſſons to tranſlate, and, withall, begin to teach him, both in nownes and verbes, what is *Proprium*, and what is *Tranſlatum*; what *Synonymum*, what *Diverſum*; which be *Contraria*, and which be moſt notable *Phraſes* in all his lecture. As,

Proprium. { *Rex ſepultus eſt magnificè.*

Tranſlatum. { *Cum illo principe, ſepulta eſt et gloria, et ſalus reipublicæ.*

† *Synonyma.* { *Enſis, gladius.* / *Laudare, prædicare.*

Diverſa. { ‡ *Diligere, amare.* / *Calere, exardeſcere.* / *Inimicus, hoſtis.*

Contraria. { *Acerbum et luctuoſum bellum.* / *Dulcis et læta pax.*

Phraſes. { *Dare verba.* / ‖ *Abjicere obedientiam.*

* *Trade* is *practice.* **

† *Synonyma* are very rare in any language. *Laudare* is ſimply *to praiſe*, *prædicare*, to *praiſe publickly.* **

‡ "Quis erat, qui putaret ad eum amorem, quem erga te habebam, poſſe aliquid accedere? Tantum tamen acceſſit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexiſſe." *Cicero ad Dolabellam.* Videtur Scaligero *diligere* à deligendo dictum, quod tanquam initium ſit amandi.

‖ This is *Tully*'s expreſſion; which I therefore mention, becauſe I have known ſome queſtion the authority of it. *Cic. lib.* 1. *Offic.* "Relinquunt enim, & abjiciunt obedientiam, "nec ratione parent." And near the end of the ſame book; "Non illa omnia relinquat, "atque abjiciat?" The alluſion ſeems to be, *A ſoldier quitting his poſt, and caſting away his arms.*

Abjecit clypeum, lococque motus
Nectit, quâ valeat trahi, catenam. Boetius.

Your

Your ſcholer then muſt have the third paper booke: in the which, after he hath done his double tranſlation, let him write, after this ſort, four of theſe forenamed ſix, diligentlie marked out of every leſſon. The third paper booke.

Quatuor.
- *Propria,*
- *Tranſlata,*
- *Synonyma,*
- *Diverſa,*
- *Contraria,*
- *Phraſes.*

Or elſe three, or two, if there be no moe: and, if there be none of theſe at all in ſome lecture, yet not omitte the order, but write theſe:

- *Diverſa nulla,*
- *Contraria nulla, &c.*

This diligent tranſlating, joined with this heedefull marking, in the foreſaid epiſtles, and afterwarde in ſome plaine oration of *Tullie*, as *Pro lege Manil. Pro Archia Poeta*, or in thoſe * three *Ad C. Cæſ.* ſhall worke ſuch a right choice of wordes, ſo ſtreight a framing of ſentences, ſuch a true judgement, both to write ſkilfullie, and ſpeake wittelie, as wiſe men ſhall both praiſe and marvell at.

If your ſcholer do miſſe ſometimes, in marking rightlie theſe foreſaid ſix thinges, chide not haſtelie, for that ſhall both dull his witte, and diſcorage his diligence, but moniſh him gentelie; which ſhall make him both willing to amende, and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning. Gentleneſſe in teaching.

I have now wiſhed twiſe or thriſe this gentle nature to be in a ſcholemaſter: and that I have done ſo, neither by chance, nor without ſome reaſon, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, love is Love.

* There are but two Orations properly *ad C. Cæſarem*, viz. *pro Q. Ligario, & rege Dejotaro*: the third is eaſily underſtood to be that *pro M. Marcello*.

fitter

Feare. fitter than feare, gentleneſſe better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learning.

Common ſcholes. With the common uſe of teaching and beating in common ſcholes of *England*, I will not greatlie contend; which, if I did, it were but a ſmall grammatical controverſie, neither belonging to hereſie nor treaſon, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince; although in very deede, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much ſerve to the good or ill ſervice of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beſide.

I do gladlie agree with all good ſcholemaſters in theſe pointes; to have children brought to good perfitneſſe in learning, to all honeſtie in manners, to have all faultes rightlie amended, to have everie vice ſeverelie corrected; but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to theſe pointes, we ſomewhat differ. For commonlie many ſcholemaſters, ſome as I have ſeen, moe as I have heard tell, be of ſo crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a harde witted ſcholer, they rather breake him than bowe him, rather marre him than mend him. For when the ſcholemaſter is angrie with ſome other matter, then will he ſoneſt faul to beate his ſcholer; and though he himſelfe ſhould be puniſhed for his folie, yet muſt he beat ſome ſcholer for his pleaſure, though there be no cauſe for him to do ſo, nor yet fault in the ſcholer to deſerve ſo. Theſe, ye will ſay, be fond ſcholemaſters, and fewe they be that be found to be ſuch. They be fond indeede, but ſurelie over many ſuch be found everie where. But this will I ſay, that even the wiſeſt of your great beaters, do as oft puniſh nature, as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times, the better nature is ſore puniſhed; for, if one, by quickneſſe of witte, take his leſſon readelie, an other, by hardneſſe of witte, taketh it not ſo ſpedelie, the firſt is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie puniſhed; when a wiſe ſcholemaſter, ſhould rather diſcretlie conſider the right diſpoſition of both their natures, and not ſo much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter. For this I know, not onlie by reading of bookes in my ſtudie, but alſo by experience of life abrode in the world, that thoſe, which be commonlie the wiſeſt, the beſt

Sharpe ſcholemaſters.

Nature puniſhed.

beſt learned, and beſt men alſo, when they be olde *, were never commonlie the quickeſt of witte, when they were yonge. The cauſes why, amongſt other, which be many, that move me thus to thinke, be theſe fewe which I will reckon. Quicke wittes commonlie be apte to take, unapte to keepe: † ſoone hote and deſirous of this and that, as colde, and ſone wery of the ſame againe; more quicke to enter ſpedelie, than hable to pearſe farre; even like over-ſharpe tooles, whoſe edges be verie ſoone turned. Such wittes delite themſelves in eaſie and pleaſant ſtudies, and never paſſe forward in hie and hard ſciences. And therefore the quickeſt wittes commonlie may prove the beſt poetes, but not the wiſeſt orators: readie of tongue to ſpeake boldlie, not deep of judgement, either for good counſell or wiſe writing. Alſo for manners and life, quicke wittes commonlie be, in deſire new fangled, in purpoſe unconſtant, light to promiſe any thing, ready to forget every thing, both benefite and injurie: and thereby neither faſt to frend, nor fearfull to foe: inquiſitive of every trifle, not ſecret in greateſt affaires; bolde, with any perſon, buſie in every matter; ſothing ſuch as be preſent, nipping any that is abſent; of nature alſo, alwais flattering their betters, envying their equals, deſpiſing their inferiors; and, by quickneſſe of witte, verie quicke and readie to like none ſo well as themſelves.

Quicke wittes for learninge.

Quicke wittes for manners and life.

Moreover, commonlie, men verie quicke of witte be alſo verie light of ‡ conditions; and, thereby, very readie of diſpoſition, to be carried over quicklie by any light companie, to any riot and unthriftineſſe when they be yonge, and therefore ſeldome either honeſt of life, or riche in living, when they be olde. For quicke in witte, and light in manners, be either ſeldome troubled, or verie ſoon wery, in carying a verie hevie purſe. Quicke wittes alſo be, in moſt part of all their doinges, over quicke, haſtie, raſhe, headie, and brain-ſicke. Theſe two laſt wordes, Headie and Brain-ſicke, be fitte and proper wordes, riſing naturally of the matter, and tearmed aptlie by the condition of over much quick-

* This was remarkably the character of *Cato the Younger*, as he is deſcribed by *Plutarch*. See his Life.

† Thus *Ariſtotle*, moſt admirably deſcribing the nature of youth: Εὐμεταβολοι δε, καὶ ἀψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχὺ δὲ παύονται. ὀξεῖαι γὰρ αἱ βουλήσεις, καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν καμνόντων δίψαι καὶ σφοδραί. *Rhet.* 2. *cap.* 12.

‡ *Conditions* are qualities of mind, temper, diſpoſition. **

neſſe

neſſe of witte. In youthe alſo they be readie ſcoffers, privie mockers, and ever over light and mery; in age ſone teſtie, very waſpiſhe, and alwaies over miſerable. And yet fewe of them come to any greate age, by reaſon of their miſordered life when they were yonge, but a great deale fewer of them come to ſhewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abrode in the world, but either live obſcurely, men know not how, or dye obſcurely, men marke not when.

They be like trees, ‡ that ſhewe forth faire bloſſoms and broad leaves in Spring time, but bring out ſmall and not long laſting fruit in Harveſt time; and that only ſuch as fall and rotte before they be ripe, and ſo never, or ſeldome, come to any good at all. For this ye ſhall finde moſt true by experience, that, amongeſt a number of quicke wittes in youthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for themſelves, or verie profitable to ſerve the common wealth, but decay and vaniſh, men know not which way, except a very few, to whom, peradventure, blood and happy parentage may perchance purchaſe a long ſtanding upon the ſtage. The which felicity, becauſe it cometh by others procuring, not by their owne deſervinge, and ſtand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag ſoever is borne by them, is indeed, of itſelfe, and in wiſe mens eyes, of no great eſtimation.

Some ſciences hurt mens wittes, and marre mens manners.

Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many times marde by over much ſtudie and uſe of ſome ſciences, namelie, muſicke, arithmeticke, and geometrie. Theſe ſciences, as they ſharpen mens wittes over much, ſo they change mens manners over ſore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wiſely applied to ſome good uſe of life. Marke all * mathematical heades, which be only and wholy bent to thoſe ſciences, how ſolitary they be themſelves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapte to ſerve in the world. This is not onelie knowen now by common experience, but uttered long before by wiſe mens judgement and ſentence. *Galene* ſayth, much muſick marreth mens manners: and *Plato* hath a notable place of the ſame thing in his bookes *De Rep.* well marked alſo, and excellentlie tranſlated by *Tullie* himſelf.

Mathematical heades.

Galen.

Plato.

‡ "Illud ingeniorum velut præcox genus, non temere unquam pervenit ad frugem." *Quint. lib.* 1. "Non enim poteſt in eo eſſe ſuccus diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter eſt maturitate affecutum." *Cicero de Orat. lib.* 1.

* This cenſure of mathematicians is confirmed by *Swift*, in *Gulliver's Travels.* **

Of

Of this matter I wrote once more at large, twenty yeare ago, in my * booke of *Shootinge:* now I thought but to touch it, to prove, that over much quickneſſe of witte, either given by nature, or ſharpened by ſtudie, doth not commonlie bring forth, eyther greateſt learning, beſt maners, or happieſt life in the end.

Contrariewiſe, a witte in youth that is not over dulle, heavie, knottie and lumpiſhe, but hard, tough, and though ſomewhat ſtaffiſhe, (as *Tullie* wiſheth, *otium, quietum non languidum:* and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo)* ſuch a witte, I ſay, if it be, at the firſt, well handled by the mother, and rightlie ſmothed and wrought as it ſhould, not overwartlie, and againſt the wood, by the ſcholemaſter, both for learning and hole courſe of living, proveth alwaies the beſt. In woode and ſtone, not the ſofteſt, but hardeſt, be alwaies apteſt for portraiture, both faireſt for pleaſure, and moſt durable for profit. Hard wittes be hard to receive, but ſure to keepe; painfull without wearieneſſe, hedefull without wavering, conſtant without newfangleneſſe; bearing heavie thinges, though not lightlie, yet willinglie; entring hard thinges, though not eaſelie yet depelie; and ſo come to that perfitneſſe of learning in the ende, that quicke wittes ſeeme in hope, but do not in dede, or elſe verie ſeldome, ever attaine unto. Alſo, for manners and life, hard wittes, commonlie, are hardlie caried, either to deſire everie new thing, or elſe to marvell at every ſtrange thinge: and therefore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and buſey in other mens affaires, and ſo they become wiſe themſelves, and alſo are counted honeſt by others. They be grave, ſtedfaſt, ſilent of tong, ſecret of hart. Not haſtie in making, but conſtant in keping any promiſe. Not raſhe in uttering, but ware in conſidering every matter: and thereby, not quicke in ſpeaking, but deepe of judgement, whether they write or give counſell in all weightie affairs. And theis be the men that become, in the end, both moſt happie for themſelves, and alwaiſe beſt eſtemed abrode in the world.

Hard wittes in learning.

Hard wittes in manners and lyfe.

I have bene longer in deſcribing the nature, the good, or ill ſucceſſe, of the quicke and hard witte, than perchance ſome will thinke this place and matter doth require. But my purpoſe was hereby plainlie to utter,

* See page 72.

The beſt wittes driven from learnyng to other livyng.

what injurie is offered to all learninge, and to the common wealth alſo, firſt, by the fond father in choſing, but chieflie by the lewd * ſcholemaſter in beating and driving away the beſt natures from learninge. A childe that is ſtill, ſilent, conſtant, and ſomewhat hard of witte, is either never choſen by the father to be made a ſcholer, or elſe, when he cometh to the ſchole, he is ſmally regarded, little looked unto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges, onelie he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learninge, or any other kinde of living.

Hard wittes prove beſt in every kind of life.

And when this ſadde natured, and hard witted childe is bette from his booke, and becommeth after, eyther ſtudent of the common lawe, or page in the court, or ſerving man, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to ſome handiecrafte, he proveth, in the ende, wiſer, happier, and many times honeſter too, than many of theis quicke wittes do by their learninge.

Learninge is both hindred and injured to, by the ill choice of them that ſend young ſcholers to the univerſities; of whom muſt nedes come all oure divines, lawyers, and phyſicians.

The ill choice of wittes for learninge.

Theſe young ſcholers be choſen commonlie † as young apples be choſen by children, in a faire garden about *St. James* tyde: a childe will choſe a ſweeting, becauſe it is preſentlie faire and pleaſant, and refuſe a runnet, becauſe it is then greene, hard and ſowre, when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both wormes and ill humours: the other, if it ſtand his tyme, be ordered and kept as it ſhould, is holſome of itſelf, and helpeth to the good digeſtion of other meates: ſweetinges

* Ἀκρατὴς, qui ſibi ipſe cum nequeat imperare, incontinentes ſtatim alteri injicit manus.

† "Ita eſt, inquit Accius, uti dicis. Neque id ſane me pœnitet: meliora enim fore ſpero, "quæ deinceps ſcribam. Nam quod in pomis eſt, itidem, inquit, eſſe aiunt in ingeniis: "quæ dura et acerba naſcuntur, poſt fiunt mitia & jucunda. Sed quæ gignuntur ſtatim vieta "et mollia, atque in principio ſunt uvida, non matura mox fiunt; ſed putria. Relinquen-"dum igitur viſum eſt in ingenio, quod dies atque ætas mitificet." *A. Gellius, lib.* 13. *cap.* 2.

will

will receive wormes, rotte, and dye on the tree, and never, or ſeldome, come to the gathering for good and laſting ſtore.

For verie greafe of herte I will not applie the ſimilitude: but hereby is plainlie ſeen, how learning is robbed of her beſt wittes, firſt, by the greate beating, and after by the ill choſing of ſcholers to go to the univerſities: whereof commeth, partlie, that lewde and ſpitefull proverbe, ſounding to the greate hurte of learning, and ſhame of learned men, that "the greateſt clerkes be not the wiſeſt men."

And though I, in all this diſcourſe, ſeem plainlie to prefer hard and rough wittes before quicke and light wittes, both for learning and manners, yet am I not ignorant that ſome quickneſſe of witte is a ſingular gift of God, and ſo moſt rare amonges men; and namelie, ſuch a witte as is quicke without lightneſſe, ſharp without brittleneſſe, deſirous of good thinges without new fangleneſſe, diligent in painfull thinges without weriſomneſſe, and conſtant in good will to do all thinges well; as I know was in Sir *John Cheke*, and is in ſome that yet live, in whom all theſe faire qualities of witte are fullie mette together.

But it is notable and trewe, that *Socrates* ſayth in *Plato* to his frende *Phædo*, that "* that number of men is feweſt, which farre excede, "either in good or ill, in wiſedom or folie; but the meane betwixt "both be the greateſt number:" which he proveth trewe in diverſe other thinges; as in grey houndes, amonges which fewe are found exceding greate, or exceding little, exceding ſwift, or exceding ſlowe. And therefore, ſpeaking of quick and hard wittes, I meant the common number of quick and hard wittes; amonges the which, for the moſt parte, the hard witte proveth manie times the better learned, wiſer and honeſter man: and therefore do I the more lament that ſuch wittes commonly be eyther kepte from learning by fond fathers, or bet from learninge by lewde ſcholemaſters.

Plato in Phædone.

Verie good, or verie ill men, be feweſt in number.

* *Plato*'s words are theſe: —— οὕτως ἂν ἡγήσαιλο, τὰς μὲν χρησὰς καὶ πονηρὰς σφόδρα ὀλίγας εἶναι ἑκαλέρας· τὰς δὲ μελαξὺ, πλείσας. Πῶς λέγεις; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Ὥσπερ (ἦ δ' ὅς) περὶ τῶν σφόδρα μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων, οἴει τι σπανιώτερον εἶναι, ἢ σφόδρα μέγαν ἢ σφόδρα σμικρὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἄνθρωπον; ἢ κύνα, ἢ ἄλλο ὁλιῶν; ἢ ἂν ταχὺν, ἢ βραδὺν; ἢ καλὸν, ἢ αἰσχρὸν, ἢ λευκὸν, ἢ μέλανα; Ἦ ἂν ἥσθησαι, ὅτι πάνλων τῶν τοιάτων τα μὲν ἄκρα τῶν ἐσχάτων, σπάνια καὶ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ μελαξὺ, ἄφθονα καὶ πολλά. By a miſtake of memory, *Crito* was twice mentioned by Mr. *Aſcham* inſtead of *Phædo*.

Horſemen be wiſer in knowledge of a good colte, than ſcholemaſters be in knowledge of a good witte.

A good rider better rewarded than a good ſcholemaſter.

Horſe well broken, children ill taught.

And, ſpeaking thus much of the wittes of children for learning, the opportunitie of the place, and goodneſſe of the matter, might require to have here declared the moſt ſpeciall notes of a good witte for learning in a childe; after the manner and cuſtom of a good horſeman, who is ſkilfull to know, and hable to tell others, how, by certain ſure ſignes, a man may choiſe a colte, that is like to prove an other day excellent for the ſaddle. And it is pitie, that commonlie more care is had, yea, and that amonges verie wiſe men, to find out rather a cunnynge man for their horſe, than a cunnynge man for their children. They ſay nay in worde, but they do ſo in deede. For, to the one they will gladlie give a ſtipend of 200 crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other * 200 ſhillinges. God, that ſitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to ſkorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it ſhould; for he ſuffereth them to have tame, and well ordered horſe, but wilde and unfortunate children; and therefore, in the ende, they finde more pleaſure in their horſe then comforte in their children.

Plato in 7. de Rep.

But concerning the trewe notes of the beſt wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very judgement of him that was counted the beſt teacher and wiſeſt man that learning maketh mention of, and that is *Socrates* in *Plato* †, who expreſſeth orderlie theſe ſeven plaine notes, to choſe a good witte in a childe for learninge.

1. Ευφυὴς.

* *Hos inter ſumptus, ſeſtertia Quintiliano*
Ut multum, duo ſufficient: res nulla minoris
Conſtabit patri, quàm filius. Juven. Sat. 7.

To theſe we ſhall ſubjoin the verſes of *Crates* the philoſopher, mentioned by *Laertius*:

Τίθει μαϛίρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμήν,
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβόλῳ κάπτῃ,
Πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

† It may not be amiſs, to preſent the reader with the whole paſſage out of *Plato*, though ſomewhat long; ſince not only the notes, and characters themſelves, but the explanation of them, are in ſome meaſure thence taken by our author.

Δριμύτητα, ὦ μακάριε, (ἔφην) δεῖ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς μανθάνειν. πολὺ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον ἀποδειλιῶσι ψυχαὶ ἐν ἰσχυροῖς μαθήμασιν, ἢ ἐν γυμνασίοις. οἰκειότερον γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ πόνος, ἴδιος, ἀλλ' ὁ κοινὸς ὢν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Καὶ μνήμονα δὲ, καὶ ἄκρατον, καὶ πάντα φιλόπονον ζητητέον. ἢ τίνι τρόπῳ οἴει τά τε τοῦ σώματος ἐθελῆσειν τινὰ διαπονεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτην μάθησίν τε καὶ μελέτην ἐπιτελεῖν; Οὐδένα, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐὰν μὴ παντάπασιν ᾖ εὐφυής.

Τὸ

1. Ευφυὴς.
2. Μνήμων.
3. Φιλομαθὴς.
4. Φιλόπονος.
5. Φιλήχοος.
6. Ζητητϊχὸς.
7. Φιλέπαινος.

Trewe notes of a good witte.

And becauſe I write *Engliſhe*, and to *Engliſhemen*, I will plainlie declare, in *Engliſhe*, both what theſe wordes of *Plato* meane, and how aptlie they be linked, and how orderlie they follow one another.

1. Ευφυὴς,

Is he, that is apte by goodneſſe of witte, and appliable by readineſſe of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that muſt an other day ſerve learning; not trobled, mangled, and halfed, but founde, whole, full, and hable to do their office: as, a toung not ſtamering, or over hardlie drawing forth wordes, but plaine and redie to deliver the meaning of the minde; a voice not ſofte, weake, piping, womaniſhe, but audible, ſtronge, and manlike; a countenance not weriſhe and crabbed, but faire and comelie; a perſonage not wretched and deformed, but taule and goodlie: for ſurelie, * a comlie countenance, with a goodlie ſtature, geveth credit to learning, and authoritie to the perſon; otherwiſe, commonlie, either open contempte, or privie disfavour doth hurte, or hinder, both

Witte.
Will.
The toung.
The voice.
Face.
Stature.
Learning joyned with a comlie perſonage.

Τὸ γοῦν νῦν ἁμάρτημα (ἦν δ' ἐγὼ) καὶ ἡ ἀτιμία Φιλοσοφία διὰ ταῦτα προσπέπλωκεν (ὁ καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν) ὅτι ἃ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῆς ἄπλουται. Οὐ γὰρ νόθες ἔδει ἅπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίες. Πῶς; ἦφη. Πρῶτον μὲν, εἶπον, φιλοπονία ἃ χωλὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀψόμενον. τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεα φιλόπονον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ἡμίσεα, ἄπονον. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν τὶς φιλογυμναστὴς μὲν, καὶ φιλόθηρος ᾖ, καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος φιλοπονῇ. φιλομαθὴς δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ φιλήκοος, μηδὲ ζητητικός. ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μισοπονῇ. χωλὸς δὲ, καὶ ὁ τἀναντία τούτοις μεταβεβληκὼς τὴν φιλοπονίαν.

The reader will obſerve, the laſt note φιλέπαινος is not here expreſſed; and I queſtion very much, whether there be any ſuch word in the *Greek* language. In this ſenſe, φιλότιμος is generally uſed; as in *Xenoph.* ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος; and in another place, ὁρᾶς ὡς φιλότιμός ἐστι, καὶ ἐλευθέριος: or elſe a Periphraſis, as ἐπαίνου ἐραστὴς, ἐπαινούμενος, ἐφιέμενος, or ſome ſuch like.

* Thus *Xenophon* in his *Inſtitution* of *Cyrus*, deſigning rather, as *Tully* ſuppoſes, a model of a juſt and complete government, than a true relation of things performed, has deſcribed his prince with all theſe happy endowments both of mind and body.

Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται, καὶ ἄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστον, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωποτάτου, καὶ φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀναλῆναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. And again in the ſame book: Ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ το φιλομαθὴς εἶναι, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα, πῶς ἔχοντα πυγχάνοι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐρωτῶτο, διὰ τὸ αἰσχύνης εἶναι, ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο.

perſon

perſon and learning. And even as * a faire ſtone requireth to be ſette in the fineſt gold, with the beſt workmanſhip, or elſe it leſeth much of the grace and price, even ſo excellencye in learning, and namely divinitie, joined with a comelie perſonage, is a mervelous jewell in the world. And how can a cumlie bodie be better employed, than to ſerve the faireſt exerciſe of Goddes greateſt gifte, and that is learning. But commonlie the faireſt bodies are beſtowed on the fouleſt purpoſes. I would it were not ſo; and with examples herein, I will not medle: yet I wiſhe, that thoſe ſhould both mynde it and medle with it, which have moſt occaſion to looke to it, as good and wiſe fathers ſhould do; and greateſt authoritie to amend it, as good and wiſe magiſtrates ought to do: and yet I will not let openlie to lament the unfortunate caſe of learning herein.

Deformed creatures commonlie ſet to learning.

For, if a father have four ſonnes, three faire and well formed, both mynde and bodie, the fourth wretched, lame, and deformed, † his choice ſhall be, to put the worſt to learning, as one good enough to become a ſcholer. I have ſpent the moſt parte of my life in the univerſitie, and therefore I can bear good witneſſe that many fathers commonlie do thus: whereof I have hard many wiſe, learned, and as good men as ever I knew, make great and oft complainte. A good horſeman will choſe no ſuch colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his maſters ſadle. And thus much of the firſt note.

2. Μνήμων,

Memorie.

Good of memorie: a ſpeciall parte of the firſt note εὐφυὴς, and a mere benefite of nature; yet it is ſo neceſſarie for learning, as *Plato* maketh it a ſeparate and perfite note of itſelfe, and that ſo principal a note, as, without it, all other giftes of nature do ſmall ſervice to learn-

* *Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo*
Argentum, Pariuſve lapis circumdatur auro. Virgil. lib. 1. v. 596.

† The ſame complaint we have in *Ludov. Vives*, in his book *De tradendis diſciplinis*. "Quidam, quo nihil eſt magis ridiculum, ineptos mercaturæ aut militiæ, aut aliis civilibus "muniis, ad ſcholas mittunt, atque initiari jubent; quodque eſt grande nefas, Deo ſacrant "fœtum deſpicatiſſimum atque inutiliſſimum; et putant ad res tantas ſatis habiturum judicii "ac mentis, qui ad minimas et leviſſimas non habet."

ing.

ing. *Afranius*,* that olde *Latin* poete, maketh Memorie the mother of learning and wiſdome, ſaying thus: Aul. Gel.

Uſus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.

And though it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memorie well preſerved by uſe, and much encreaſed by order, as our ſcholer muſt learne an other day in the univerſitie: but, in a childe, a good memorie is well known by three properties: that is, if it be quicke in receyving, ſure in keping, and redie in delivering forthe againe. Three ſure ſignes of a good memorie.

3. Φιλομαθὴς,

Given to love learning: for though a child have all the giftes of nature at wiſhe, and perfection of memorie at will, yet if he have not a ſpeciall love to learninge, he ſhall never attain to much learning. And therefore *Iſocrates*,† one of the nobleſt ſcholemaſters that is in memorie of learning, who taught Kinges and Princes, as *Halicarnaſſeus* writeth; and out of whoſe ſchole, as *Tullie* ſaith, came forth ‡ mo noble captanes, mo wiſe councelors, than did out of *Epeius* horſe at *Troie*: This *Iſocrates*, I ſay, did cauſe to be written at the entrie of his ſchole, in golden letters, this golden ſentence, ‖ Ἐὰν ἦς φιλομαθὴς, ἔσῃ

* Aul. Gell. lib. 13. cap. 8. Verſus Afranii ſunt in togata, cui Sellæ nomen eſt:
Uſus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria:
Sophiam vocant me Graji, vos Sapientiam.

† *Dionyſius* in his treatiſe of the ancient *Greek* orators, gives us this great character of *Iſocrates*. Ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνον, καὶ τὰς κρατίστας τῶν Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας——. Καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Σχολὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας τῶν λόγων.
And ſo eminent for learning and wiſdom were his ſcholars, that, as *Dionyſius* informs us, *Hermippus* thought fit to write their hiſtory: ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἕρμιππος.

‡ "Ecce tibi exortus eſt *Iſocrates*, magiſter iſtorum omnium, cujus è ludo, tanquam ex "equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt: ſed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie "illuſtres eſſe voluerunt." *Cic. de Orat. lib.* 2. Virg. *Et ipſe doli fabricator Epeus.* Ἵππος δεράτεος. Hence I ſhall take occaſion to correct a verſe, which we meet with in *Hephæſtion*, pag. 60.
Δεραΐῳτ' ἐφ' ἵππῳ κατὰ μὲν βριμάμενοι.
So I read it, inſtead of Δέρατος ὥς' ἐφ' ἵππῳ, which *Lucretius* thus expreſſes:
Nec clam durateus Trojaï Pergama partu
Inflammaſſet equus nocturno Grajugenarum.

‖ This ſentence is likewiſe in his *Paræneſis* to *Demonicus*.

πολυμαθὴς:

πολυμαθής: which excellentlie ſaid in *Greeke*, is thus rudelie in *Engliſhe*, *If thou loveſt learning, thou ſhalt attayne to much learning.*

4. Φιλόπονος,

Is he that hath a luſt to labor, and a will to take paines. For if a childe have all the benefites of nature, with perfection of memorie, love, like, and praiſe learning never ſo much, yet if he be not of himſelfe painfull, he ſhall never attayne unto it. And yet, where love is preſent, labor is ſeldom abſent, and namelie in ſtudie of learning, and matters of the mynde: and therefore did *Iſocrates* rightlie judge, that if his ſcholer were φιλομαθής, he cared for no more. *Ariſtotle*, * varying from *Iſocrates* in private affaires of life, but agreeing with *Iſocrates* in common judgement of learning, for love and labor in learning, is of the ſame opinion, uttered in theſe wordes, in his Rhetoricke *ad Theodectem*; "† Libertie kindleth love; love refuſeth no la- "bour; and labor obtayneth whatſoever it ſeeketh." And yet, nevertheleſſe, goodneſſe of nature may do litle good; perfection of memorie may ſerve to ſmall uſe; all love may be employed in vayne; and labor may be ſone gravaled, if a man truſt alwaies to his own ſingular witte, and will not be glad ſometyme to heare, take adviſe, and learne of an other: and therefore doth *Socrates* very notablie adde the fifth note:

* This emulation between *Iſocrates* and *Ariſtotle*, is mentioned by *Tully* more than once. "Ipſe Ariſtoteles cum florere Iſocratem nobilitate diſcipulorum videret, quod ipſe ſuas diſpu- "tationes à cauſis forenſibus & civilibus ad inanem ſermonis elegantiam tranſtuliſſet, mutavit "repente totam formam propè diſciplinæ ſuæ, verſumque quendam de Philocteta paulo ſecus "dixit. Ille enim turpe ſibi ait eſſe tacere, cùm barbaros; hic autem, cùm Iſocratem "pateretur dicere." *De Orat. lib.* 3.

The *Parody* he uſed, though ingenious, was too ſevere on ſo great a man:

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ἰσοκράτην τ' ἐᾶν λέγειν:

Inverting this verſe of *Euripides*,

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, βαρβάρους τ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

You meet with the ſame verſe in the third book of *Quintilian*, but not ſo correct. In *Laertius* it is, Ξενοκράτη δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

† See the beginning of the ſecond book, where this paſſage out of *Ariſtotle* is repeated.

5. Φιλήκοος,

He that is glad to heare and learne of another. For, otherwiſe, he ſhall ſticke with great troble, where he might go eaſelie forwarde: and alſo catche hardlie a verie litle by his own toyle, when he might gather quicklie a good deale, by another mans teaching. But now there be ſome that have great love to learning, good luſt to labor, be willing to learne of others, yet, eyther of a fonde ſhamefaſtneſſe, or elſe of a proude folie, they dare not, or will not, go to learne of another: and therefore doth *Socrates* wiſelie adde the ſixte note of a good witte in a childe for learninge, and that is,

6. Ζητητικὸς,

He that is naturallie bolde to aſke any queſtion, deſirous to ſearche out any doubte; not aſhamed to learne of the meaneſt, nor affraide to go to the greateſt, untill he be perfitlie taught, and fullie ſatisfied. The ſeventh and laſt poynte is,

7. Φιλέπαινος,

He that loveth to be praiſed for well doing, at his father or maſters hand. A childe of this nature will earneſtlie love learninge, gladlie labor for learninge, willinglie learne of other, boldlie aſk any doubte.

And thus, by *Socrates* judgement, a good father, and a wiſe ſcholemaſter, ſhould choſe a childe to make a ſcholer of, that hath, by nature, the foreſaid perfite qualities, and cumlie furniture, both of minde and bodie: hath memorie, quicke to receyve, ſure to kepe, and readie to deliver; hath love to learning; hath luſt to labor; hath deſire to learne of others; hath boldneſſe to aſke any queſtion; hath minde holie bent to wynne praiſe by well doing.

The two firſt pointes be ſpeciall benefites of nature; which, neverthe-leſſe, be well preſerved, and much encreaſed by good order. But, as for the five laſt, love, labor, gladneſſe to learne of others, boldneſſe to aſke doubtes, and will to wynne praiſe, be wonne and maintened by the onelie wiſedome and diſcretion of the ſcholemaſter. Which five poyntes, whether a ſcholemaſter ſhall worke ſoner in a childe by fear-full beating, or curteſe handling, you that be wiſe, judge.

Yet ſome men, wiſe in deede, but, in this matter, more by ſeveritie of nature than any wiſedome at all, do laugh at us, when we thus wiſhe and reaſon, that young children ſhould rather be allured to learning by jentleneſſe and love, than compelled to learning by beating and feare: they ſay "our reaſons ſerve onlie to breede forth taulke, and "paſſe awaie time, but we never ſaw good ſcholemaſters do ſo, nor ne-"ver red of wiſe men that thought ſo."

Yes, forſothe: as wiſe as they be, either in other mens opinions, or in their own conceite; I will bring the contrarie judgement of him, who, they themſelves ſhall confeſſe, was as wiſe as they are, or elſe they may be juſtlie thought to have ſmall witte at all; and that is *Socrates*, whoſe judgement in *Plato* is plainlie this, in theſe wordes; which, becauſe they be verie notable, I will recite them in his own toung: * Οὐδὲν μάθημα μεθ' δουλείας τὸν ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μανθάνειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος πόνοι βίᾳ πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται· ψυχῇ δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμενον μάθημα. In *Engliſhe* thus; "No learning ought to be learned with "bondage: for bodily labours, wrought by compulſion, hurt not the "bodie; but any learning learned by compulſion, tarieth not long in "the mynde." And why? For whatſoever the mynde doth learne unwillinglie with feare, the ſame it doth quicklie forget without care: And leſt proude wittes, that love not to be contraryed, but have luſt to wrangle and trifle away troth, will ſay, that *Socrates* meaneth not this of childrens teaching, but of ſome other higher learninge; hear what *Socrates*, in the ſame place, doth more plainlie ſay: Μὴ τοίνυν βίᾳ; ὦ ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε. That is to ſay; "And therefore, my deare friend, bryng not up your children in learn-"inge by compulſion and feare, but by playing and pleaſure." And you that do read *Plato* as ye ſhold, do well perceyve, that theſe be no queſtions aſked by *Socrates* as doubtes, but they be ſentences, firſt affirmed by *Socrates*, as mere trothes, and after given forth by *Socrates* as right rules; moſt neceſſarie to be marked, and fitte to be folowed of all them, that would have children taughte as they ſhould. And, in this counſell, judgement, and authority of *Socrates*, I will repoſe myſelfe, untill I meete with a man of the contrarie mynde, whom I may juſtlie-

Plato in de Rep. 7.

The right reading of Plato.

* See the preface.

take

take to be wiſer than I thinke *Socrates* was. Fonde ſcholemaſters neither can underſtand, nor will folow, this good counſell of *Socrates*; but wiſe ryders, in their office, can, and will do both; which is the onelie cauſe, that commonlie the yong jentlemen of *England* go ſo unwillinglie to ſchole, and run ſo faſt to the ſtable: for, in very deede, fond ſcholemaſters, by feare, do beate into them the hatred of learning; and wiſe ryders, by jentle allurementes, do breed up in them the love of ryding. They finde feare and bondage in ſcholes, they feele libertie and freedòme in ſtables; which cauſeth them utterlie to abhorre the one, and moſt gladlie to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that, in exhorting to the one, I would diſſuade yonge jentlemen from the other; yea I am ſorry, with all my harte, that they be given no more to ryding than they be; for, of all outward qualities, to ride faire is moſt cumlie for himſelfe, moſt neceſſarie for his countrie; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praiſe, the more he doth excede all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praiſes amongeſt the noble jentlemen, the old *Perſians*; "Alwaiſe to ſay troth, to ride faire, "and ſhote well:" and ſo it was engraven † upon *Darius* tumbe, as *Strabo* beareth witneſſe:

Yonge Jentlemen be wiſelier taught to ryde by common ryders, than to learne by common ſcholemaſters.

Ryding.

Strabo 15.

Darius the King lieth buried heare,
Who in ryding and ſhoting had never peare.

But to our purpoſe: yonge men, by any meanes leeſing the love of learning, when by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie from the ſchole with them, a perpetuall hatred of their maſter, and a continual contempt of learninge. If ten jentlemen be aſked, Why they forgot ſo ſone in court, that which they were learning ſo long in ſchole? eight of them, or let me be blamed, will laie the fault on their ill handling by their ſcholemaſters.

Cuſpinian doth report, that that noble Emperour *Maximilian* would lament verie oft his || misfortune herein. Yet

† This inſcription is twice mentioned in his *Toxophilus*: *Strabo*'s words are theſe: Μέμνηλαι δ' Ὀνησίκριτος ᾗ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Δαρείῳ τάφῳ γράμμα τόδε·

ΦΙΛΟΣ ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς ᾗ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην. κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν, πάντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.

|| This is the paſſage he alludes to in *Cuſpinian*. "Ubi habilis per ætatem ad literas addiſ-"cendas fuit, magiſtro *Petro*, qui poſtea Novæ Civitatis Antiſtes erat, traditus, aliquot an-

Paſtime. Learnyng.

Yet ſome will ſay, that children, of nature, love paſtime, and miſlike learning; becauſe, in their kinde, the one is eaſie and pleaſant, the other hard and weriſome. Which is an opinion not ſo true, as ſome men weene. For, the matter lieth not ſo much in the diſpoſition of them that be yong, as in the order and maner of bringing up, by them that be old; nor yet in the difference of learninge and paſtime. For, beate a child if he daunce not well, and cheriſh him though he learne not well, ye ſhall have him unwilling to go to daunce, and glad to go to his booke: knocke him alwaies when he draweth his ſhafte ill, and favour him againe though he fault at his booke, ye ſhall have him verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the ſchole. Yea, I ſaie more, and not of myſelfe, but by the judgement of thoſe, from whom few wiſe men will gladlie diſſent; that if ever the nature of man be given at any time, more than other, to receive goodneſſe, it is in innocencie of yonge yeares, before that experience of evill have taken roote in him. For the pure cleane witte of a ſweete yonge babe is like the neweſt wax, moſt hable to receive the beſt and faireſt printing; and, like a new bright ſilver diſhe never occupied, to receive, and kepe cleane, any good thyng that is put into it.

Will and Witte in children.

And thus will in children, wiſelie wrought withall, maie eaſelie be won to be verie well willing to learne. "And witte in children, by na- "ture, namelie memorie, * the onely keie and keper of all learning, is "readieſt to receive, and ſureſt to kepe anie maner of thing that is learn-

"nis cum nobilium quorundam filiis contubernalibus Latinas didicit literas. Sed cum ejus "præceptor ſolis Dialecticis argutiis doctus, Sophiſmata illi inculcare vellet, ad quæ capeſſen- "da aptus non erat, ſæpius atrociter verberatus ab eo, magis ipſe verberandus, (cùm verbera "ſervos deceant, non liberos) tandem effecit, ut literas magis odio haberet, quàm diligeret. "Quod tamen præcipuum eſſe debet addiſcenti literas, quemadmodum omnes docent boni "præceptores.

"Audivi ex ore divi Maximiliani hoc verbum, quod nunquam è memoria mea excidet, "quod jam Romanorum rex factus, in menſa, ut ſolebat de variis loqui, multis abſtantibus, "dixerat. *Si*, inquit, *hodie præceptor meus viveret Petrus, quanquam multa præceptoribus de-* "*beamus, efficerem, ut ſe inſtituiſſe me pœniteret. Quàm multa enim bonis præceptoribus, qui* "*rectè inſtituunt pueros, debemus, tam multis plagis ſunt onerandi indocti pædagogi, qui preti-* "*oſiſſimum ætatis tempus perdunt, & ea docent, quæ dediſcere multo labore neceſſe eſt.*"

* "Quid dicam de theſauro rerum omnium Memoria, quæ niſi cuſtos inventis, cogitatiſque "rebus, & verbis adhibeatur, intelligimus omnia, etiamſi præclariſſima fuerint, in oratore "peritura?" *Cic. de Orat. lib.* 1.

"ed

"ed in youth." This, lewde and learned, by common experience, know to be moſt trewe. For we remember nothyng ſo well when we be olde, as thoſe thinges which we learned when we were yonge: And this is not ſtraunge, but common in all natures workes. Every man ſees (as I ſayd before) new wax is beſt for printing; new claie fitteſt for working; new ſhorn woll apteſt for ſone and ſureſt dying; new freſh fleſh for good and durable ſalting. And this ſimilitude is not rude, nor borrowed of the larder-houſe, but out of his ſchole-houſe, of whom the wiſeſt of *England* nede not be aſhamed to learne. Yonge graftes grow not onlie ſoneſt, but alſo faireſt, and bring always forth the beſt and ſweeteſt fruite; yonge whelpes learne eaſilie to carie; yonge popingeis learne quicklie to ſpeake: and ſo, to be ſhort, if in all other thinges, though they lacke reaſon, ſens, and life, the ſimilitude of youth is fitteſt to all goodneſſe; ſurelie nature, in mankinde, is moſt beneficiall and effectuall in this behalfe.

Yonge years apteſt for learnyng.

Therefore, if to the goodneſſe of nature be joyned the wiſedome of the teacher, in leading yonge wittes into a right and plain way of learning, ſurelie children, kept up in Gods feare, and governed by his grace, maie moſt eaſilie be brought well to ſerve God and theyr contrey, both by vertue and wiſedome.

But if will and witte, by farder age, be once allured from innocencie, delited in vaine ſightes, filled with foull taulke, crooked with wilfulneſſe, hardened with ſtubburneſſe, and let louſe to diſobedience; ſurelie it is hard with jentleneſſe, but unpoſſible with ſevere crueltie, to call them backe to good frame againe. For where the one, perchance, maie bend it, the other ſhall ſurelie breake it; and ſo, inſteade of ſome hope, leave an aſſured deſperation, and *ſhameleſſe contempt of all goodneſſe; the fardeſt pointe in all miſchief, as *Zenophon* doth moſt trewlie and moſt wittelie marke.

Zen. 1. Cyri Ped.

* This is the paſſage, I ſuppoſe: Ἔπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών.

Therefore,

Therefore, to love or to hate, to like or contemne, to plie this waie or that waie, to good or to bad, ye ſhall have as ye uſe a childe in his youth.

Lady Jane Grey.

And one example, whether love or feare doth worke more in a childe for vertue and learninge, I will gladlie report; which maie be hard with ſome pleaſure, and folowed with more profit. Before I went into *Germanie*, † I came to *Brodegate* in *Leiceſterſhire*, to take my leave of that noble Lady *Jane Grey*, to whom I was exceeding much beholdinge. Her parentes, the Duke and the Duches, with all the houſhould, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the parke. I found her in her chamber, readinge *Phædon Platonis* in *Greeke*, and that with as much delite, as ſome jentlemen would read a merie tale in *Bocaſe*. After ſalutation, and dewtie done, with ſome other taulke, I aſked her, why ſhe would leeſe ſuch paſtime in the parke? Smiling, ſhe anſwered me; "I "wiſſe, all their ſport in the parke is but a ſhadoe to that pleaſure that "I find in *Plato*. Alas! good folke, they never felt what trewe plea-"ſure ment." "And howe came you, Madame, quoth I, to this "deepe knowledge of pleaſure? And what did chieflie allure you unto "it, ſeeinge not many women, but verie fewe men, have attained "thereunto." "I will tell you, quoth ſhe, and tell you a truth, which "perchance ye will marvell at. One of the greateſt benefites that ever "God gave me, is, that he ſent me ſo ſharpe and ſevere parentes, and "ſo jentle a ſcholemaſter. For when I am in preſence eyther of father "or mother; whether I ſpeake, kepe ſilence, ſit, ſtand, or go, eate, "drinke, be merie, or ſad, be ſowyng, playing, dauncing, or doing "anie thing elſe, I muſt do it, as it were, in ſuch weight, meaſure, "and number, even ſo perfitelie as God made the world, or elſe I am

† This diſcourſe with this excellent lady, he thus expreſſes in a letter to his friend *Sturmius*. "Hâc ſuperiore æſtate, cum amicos meos in agro Eboracenſi viſerem, & inde literis *Joannis* "*Checi* in Aulam, ut huc proficiſcerer, accitus ſum, in via deflexi Leiceſtriam, ubi *Jana* "*Graja* cum patre habitaret. Statim admiſſus ſum in cubiculum: inveni nobilem puellam, "Dii boni! legentem Græcè Phædonem Platonis; quem ſic intelligit, ut mihi ipſi ſummam "admirationem injiceret. Sic loquitur, & ſcribit Græcè, ut vera referenti vix fides adhiberi "poſſit. Nacta eſt præceptorem *Joannem Elmarum*, utriuſque linguæ valdè peritum; prop-"ter humanitatem, prudentiam, uſum, rectam religionem, & alia multa rectiſſimæ amicitiæ "vincula, mihi conjunctiſſimum."

"ſo

" ſo ſharplie taunted, ſo cruellie threatened, yea preſentlie, ſometimes,
" with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not
" name for the honor I bear them, ſo without meaſure miſordered, that
" I thincke myſelfe in hell, till time come that I muſt go to Mr. *Elmer*;
" who teacheth me ſo jentlie, ſo pleaſantlie, with ſuch fair allurementes
" to learninge, that I thinke all the time nothing whiles I am with
" him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, becauſe
" whatſoever I do els, but learninge, is full of grief, trouble, feare,
" and whole miſliking unto me. And thus my booke hath been ſo
" much my pleaſure, and bringeth dayly to me more pleaſure and
" more, that, in reſpect of it, all other pleaſures, in very deede, be
" but trifles and troubles unto me."

I remember this taulk gladly, both becauſe it is ſo worthie of memorie, and becauſe alſo it was the laſt taulke that ever I had, and the laſt tyme that ever I ſaw that noble and worthie ladie.

I could be over long, both in ſhewinge juſt cauſes, and in recitinge trewe examples, why learning ſhould be taught rather by love than feare. He that would ſee a perfite diſcourſe of it, let him read that learned treatiſe which my friende *Joan. Sturmius* wrote, *De Inſtitutione Principis*, to the Duke of *Cleves*. Sturmius de Inſtit. Princ.

The godlie counſels of *Solomon* and *Jeſus* the ſonne of *Sirach*, for ſharpe keping in, and bridlinge of youthe, are ment rather for fatherlie correction, than maſterlie beating; rather for maners, than for learninge; for other places, than for ſcholes. For God forbid, but all evill touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, ſlouthe, will, ſtubbornneſſe, and diſobedience, ſhould be, with ſharpe chaſtiſement, daily cut away. Qui parcit virgæ, odit filium.

This diſcipline was well known, and diligentlie uſed, among the *Grecians* and old *Romanes*; as doth appeare in *Ariſtophanes*, *Iſocrates*, and *Plato*, and alſo in the comedies of *Plautus*; where we ſee that children were under the rule of three perſones, *Præceptore*, *Pædagogo*, *Parente*. The ſcholemaſter taught him learninge with all jentleneſſe; the governour corrected his maners with much ſharpneſſe; the father held 1. Scholemaſter. 2. Governour. 3. Father.

held the ſterne of his whole obedience. And ſo, he that uſed to teache, did not commonlie uſe to beate, but remitted that over to another mans charge. But what ſhall we ſaie, when now, in our dayes, the ſcholemaſter is uſed both for *Præceptor* in learninge, and *Pædagogus* in maners. Surely I would he ſhould not confound their offices, but diſcretelie uſe the dewtie of both; ſo that neither ill touches ſhould be left unpuniſhed, nor jentleneſſe in teachinge anie wiſe omitted. And he ſhall well do both, if wiſelie he do appointe diverſitie of time, and ſeperate place, for either purpoſe; uſing alwaies ſuch diſcrete moderation, as the ſchole-houſe ſhould be counted a ſanctuarie againſt feare; and verie well learninge, a common pardon for ill doing, if the fault of itſelfe be not over heinous.

The ſchole-houſe.

And thus the children, kept up in Gods feare, and preſerved by his grace, finding paine in all ill doing, and pleaſure in well ſtudying, ſhold eaſelie be brought to honeſtie of life, and perfitneſſe of learning; the onlie marke, that good and wiſe fathers do wiſhe and labour, that their children ſhold moſt buſilie and carefullie ſhot at.

Youth of Englande brought up with too much libertie

There is another diſcommoditie beſides crueltie in ſcholemaſters in beating away the love of learning from children; which hindreth learninge and vertue, and good bringing up of youth, and namelie young jentlemen, verie much in *Englande*. This fault is cleane contrary to the firſt. I wiſhed before, to have love of learning bred up in children: I wiſhe as much now, to have young men brought up in good order of living, and in ſome more ſevere diſcipline, than commonlie they be. We have lacke in *Englande* of ſuch good order, as the old noble *Perſians* ſo carefullie uſed; whoſe children, to the age of twenty-one yeares, were brought up in learning, and exerciſes of labor; * and that in ſuch place, where they ſhold neither ſee that was uncumlie, nor hear that was unhoneſt. Yea, a yong jentleman was never free to go where he would, and do what he liſte himſelf; but under the kepe, and by the

Xen. 1. Cyri Ped.

* Ἔστιν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευθέρα Ἀγορὰ καλεμένη, ἔνθα τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια, καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τέτων φωναὶ, καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ὡς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τέτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμία. I ſee no difference between this college in *Perſia*, and one here in *England*, excepting that theirs was joined to the court, and ſo was more in the eye of their ſuperiors and chief magiſtrates.

counſell,

counſell, of ſome grave governour, until he was either married, or called to bear ſome office in the common-wealth.

And ſee the great obedience that was uſed in old time to fathers and governours. No ſonne, were he never ſo olde of years, never ſo great of birth, though he were a kinges ſonne, might not marry, but by his fathers and mothers alſo conſent. *Cyrus* the Great, after he had conquered *Babylon*, and ſubdewed riche king *Cræſus*, with whole *Aſia-minor*, cummyng tryumphantlie home, his uncle *Cyaxeris* offered him his daughter to wife. *Cyrus* thanked his uncle, and praiſed the maide; but for marriage, he anſwered him with thies wiſe and ſweete wordes, as they be uttered by *Xenophon*; Ἀλλ', ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό, τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν παῖδα, καὶ δῶρα. βέλομαι δὲ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τε πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι, &c. That is to ſay, "Uncle *Cyaxeris*, I com- "mend the ſtocke, I like the maide, and I allow well the dowrie, but "(ſayth he) by the counſell and conſent of my father and mother, I "will determine farther of thies matters." Xen. 8. Cyri Pæd.

Strong *Samſon* alſo in Scripture ſaw a maide that liked him; but he ſpake not to her, but went home to his father and his mother, and deſired * both father and mother to make the marriage for him. Doth this modeſtie, doth this obedience, that was in great king *Cyrus*, and ſtoute *Samſon*, remaine in our young men at this daie? No ſurelie: for we live not longer after them by tyme, than we live farre different from them by good order. Our tyme is ſo farre from that old diſcipline and obedience, as now, not onlie young jentlemen, but even verie girles dare, without all feare, though not without open ſhame, where they liſt, and how they liſt, marrie themſelves in ſpite of father,

* The ſame dutiful regard *Homer* takes care to make *Achilles* expreſs in his ſpeech to the legates ſent by *Agamemnon*, Iliad. I. 393.

Ἦν γὰρ δή με σόωσι θεοὶ, καὶ οἴκαδ' ἵκωμαι,
Πηλεὺς δήν μοι ἔπειλα γυναῖκα γαμέσσεσθαι αὐτός.

"Nam, *ut inquit Grotius*, ſi in omnibus rebus filii reverentiam parentibus debent, certe præ- "cipue eam debent in eo negotio, quod ad gentem totam pertinet, quale ſunt nuptiæ." So *Hermione* in *Euripides*, though I think her character none of the beſt, makes this reply to *Oreſtes*:

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μέριμναν ἕξει, κἀκ ἐμοῦ κρίνειν τάδε. Andromache, v. 987.

mother, God, good order, and all. The cauſe of this evill is, that youth is leaſt looked unto, when they ſtand moſt neede of good kepe and regard. It availeth not, to ſee them well taught in yong yeares, and after when they come to luſt and youthfull dayes, to give them licence to live as they luſt themſelves. For if ye ſuffer the eye of a yong jentleman once to be entangled with vaine ſightes, and the eare to be corrupted with fond or filthie taulke, the mynde ſhall quicklie fall ſick, and ſone vomit, and caſt up all the holeſome doctrine, that he received in childhoode, though he were never ſo well brought up before. And being ones inglutted with vanitie, he will ſtreightway lothe all learning, and all good counſell to the ſame; and the parentes, for all their great coſt and charge, reape onelie in the end the fruite of grief and care.

Great mens ſonnes worſt brought up.

This evill is not common to poore men, as God will have it, but proper to riche and great mens children, as they deſerve it. Indeede from ſeven to ſeventeene, young jentlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought up; "but from ſeventeene to ſeven and twentie (* the "moſt dangerous tyme of all mans life, and moſt ſlipperie to ſtay "well in) they have commonlie the reine of all licens in their owne "hand, and eſpeciallie ſoch as do live in the court." And that which is moſt to be marveled at, commonlie the wiſeſt and alſo beſt men, be found the fondeſt fathers in this behalfe. And if ſome good father would ſeik ſome remedie herein, yet the mother (if the houſe hold of our lady) had rather, yea and will to, have her ſonne cunnyng and bold, in making him to live trimlie when he is young, than by learning and travell, to be able to ſerve his prince and his countrie, both wiſelie in peace, and ſtoutelie in warre, when he is old.

Wiſe men fond fathers.

Meane mens ſonnes come to great authoritie.

The fault is in yourſelves, ye noble mens ſonnes, and therefore ye deſerve the greater blame, that commonlie the meaner mens children come to be the wiſeſt councellors, and greateſt doers, in the weightie affaires of this realme. And why? for God will have it ſo of his providence, becauſe ye will have it no otherwiſe by your negligence.

* So ſays *Xenophon* in his firſt book of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus*: Δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι.

And

And God is a good God, and wiſeſt in all his doinges, that will place vertue, and diſplace vice, in thoſe kingdomes where he doth governe. " For he knoweth, that nobilitie without vertue and wiſdome, " is bloud indeed, but bloud trewelie without bones and ſinewes; and " ſo of it ſelfe, without the other, verie weake to beare the burden of " weightie affaires." Nobilitie without wiſdome.

The greateſt ſhippe indeede commonlie carieth the greateſt burden, but yet alwayes with the greateſt jeoperdie, not onlie for the perſons and goodes committed unto it, but even for the ſhippe itſelfe, except it be governed with the greater wiſdome.

But nobilitie, governed by learning and wiſdome, is indeed, moſt like a faire ſhippe, havyng tide and winde at will, under the ruele of a ſkilfull maſter: when contrariewiſe, a ſhippe caried, yea with the hieſt tide and greateſt winde, lacking a ſkilfull maſter, moſt commonlie doth either ſink itſelfe upon ſandes, or breake itſelfe upon rockes. And even ſo, how manie have been either drowned in vaine pleaſure, or overwhelmed by ſtout wilfulneſs, the hiſtories of *England* be able to affourde over many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and noblemens children, if ye will have rightfullie that praiſe, and enjoie ſurelie that place, which your fathers have, and elders had, and left unto you, ye muſt kepe it as they gat it; and that is, by the onlie waie of vertue, wiſdome, and worthineſſe. Nobilitie with wiſdome. Without wiſdome. Vaine pleaſure, and ſtout wilfulneſs, two greateſt enemies to nobilitie.

For wiſdome and virtue, there be manie faire examples in this court for young jentlemen to follow; but they be like faire markes in the field, out of a mans reach, to far of to ſhote at well. The beſt and worthieſt men, indeede, be ſometimes ſeen, but ſeldom taulked withall. A young jentleman may ſometime knele to their perſon, but ſmallie uſe their companie for their better inſtruction.

But young jentlemen are faine commonlie to do in the Court, as young archers do in the field; that is, take ſoch markes as be nie them, although they be never ſo foule to ſhoote at: I meane, they be driven to kepe companie with the worſte: and what force ill companie hath to corrupt good wittes, the wiſeſt men know beſt. Ill companie marreth youth.

The court judgeth worſt of the beſt natures in youth.

And not ill companie onlie, but the ill opinion alſo of the moſt part doth moch harme; and namelie of thoſe which ſhold be wiſe in the trewe decyphring, of the good diſpoſition of nature, of comlineſſe in courtlie manners, and all right doinges of men.

But errour, and phantaſie, do commonlie occupie the place of troth and judgement. For, if a yong jentleman be demure and ſtill of nature, they ſay he is ſimple, and lacketh witte; if he be baſhfull, and will ſoone bluſhe, they call him a babiſhe and ill brought up thynge; when *Xenophon* doth preciſelie note in *Cyrus*, that " * his baſhfulneſſe in " youth, was the verie trewe ſigne of his vertue and ſtoutnes after." If he be innocent and ignorant of ill, they ſay he is rude, and hath no grace: ſo ungraciouſlie do ſome graceleſſe men miſuſe the faire and godlie word GRACE!

Xen. 1. Cyri Pæd.

The grace in court.

But if ye would know what grace they meene, go and looke, and learne amonges them, and ye ſhall ſee that it is,

Firſt, to bluſh at nothing. " And bluſhing in youth," ſayth *Ariſtotle*, † " is nothing elſe but feare to do ill:" which feare beyng once luſtely fraid away from youth, then followeth to dare do any miſchief; to contemne ſtoutly any goodneſſe; to be buſie in every matter; to be ſkilfull in every thing; to acknowledge no ignorance at all. To do thus in court, is counted of ſome the chief and greateſt grace of all; and termed by the name of a vertue, called courage and boldneſſe; when *Craſſus* in *Cicero* teacheth the cleane contrarie, and that moſt wittelie, ſaying thus; *Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus conjunctum, per ſeipſum eſt magnopere fugiendum:* which is to ſay, " To be bold, yea in a good " matter, is for itſelf greatlie to be eſchewed."

Grace of court.

Cic. de Orat. 3.

Boldnes, yea in a good matter, not to be praiſed.

More grace of court.

Moreover, where the ſwing goeth, there to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh, and lie luſtelie at other mens liking; to face, ſtand foremoſt,

* Ὡς δὲ προῆλεν ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὥραν τε πρόσηθον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις βραχυτέροις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέρᾳ αἰδοῦς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθριᾶνεσθαι, ὁπότε συνίσχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

† Αἰσχύνη, φόβος δικαίᾳ ψόγου. *Ariſt. Magn. Moral. Menander*, Ἐρυθριῶν πᾶς χρηστὸς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. *Terence*'s expreſſion is well known: *Erubuit: ſalva res eſt.*

ſhove

ſhove backe; and to the meaner man, or unknown in the court, to ſeeme ſomewhat ſolume, coye, big, and dangerous of looke, taulk, and anſwere: to think well of himſelfe, to be luſtie in contemning of others, to have ſome trim grace in a privie mock: and in greater preſens, to beare a brave looke; to be warlike, though he never looked enimie in the face in warre; yet ſome warlike ſigne muſt be uſed, either a ſlovinglie buſking, or an overſtaring frounced hed, as though out of everie haeres toppe ſhould ſuddenlie ſtart out a good big othe, when nede requireth. Yet, praiſed be God, *England* hath at this time manie worthie captaines and good ſouldiours; which be indeede ſo honeſt of behaviour, ſo cumlie of conditions, ſo milde of maners, as they may be examples of good order, to a good ſort of others, which never came in warre.

Men of warre beſt of conditions.

But to returne where I left: in place alſo to be able to raiſe taulke, and make diſcourſe of everie riſhe; to have a verie good will to hear himſelfe ſpeake; to be ſeen in palmiſtrie, whereby to conveie to chaſt eares, ſome fond or filthie taulke. And if ſome *Smithfield* ruffian take up ſome ſtrange going, ſome new mowing with the mouth, ſome wrinching with the ſhoulders, ſome brave proverbe, ſome freſh new othe, that is not ſtale, but will rin round in the mouth; ſome new diſguiſed garment, or deſperate hat, fond in facion, or gauriſh in colour, whatſoever it coſt, how ſmall ſoever his living be, by what ſhift ſoever it be gotten, gotten muſt it be, and uſed with the firſt, or elſe the grace of it is ſtale and gone. Some part of this graceleſſe grace was diſcribed by me in a little rude verſe long ago.

Palmiſtrie.

To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to face,
Foure waies in court to win men grace.
If thou be thrall to none of thieſe,
Away good Peekgooſe, hens John Cheeſe.
Marke well my word, and marke their dede,
And thinke this verſe part of thy crede.

Would to God this taulke were not trewe, and that ſome mens doings were not thus. I write not to hurte any, but to profit ſome; to accuſe none, but to moniſh ſoch who, allured by ill counſell, and folowing

Ill councell and ill companie.

ing ill examples, contrarie to their good bringyng up, and againſt their own good nature, yeld over moch to thies folies and faultes: I know many ſerving men, of good order, and well ſtaide: and againe, I heare ſaie, there be ſome ſerving men do but ill ſervice to their yong maſters. Yea, rede *Terence* and *Plautus* adviſedlie over, and ye ſhall finde in thoſe two wiſe writers, almoſt in every comedie, no unthriftie yong man, that is not brought thereunto by the ſotle inticement of ſome lewd ſervant. And even now in our dayes, *Getæ*, and *Davi*, *Gnathos*, and manie bold bawdie *Phormios* to, be preaſing in to pratle on everie ſtage, to meddle in everie matter; when honeſt *Parmenos* ſhall not be heard, but beare ſmall ſwing with their maſters. Their companie, their taulke, their over great experience in miſchief, doth eaſelie corrupt the beſt natures, and beſt brought up wittes.

Serving-men.

Terentius. Plautus.

Servicorruptelæ juvenum.

Multi Getæ, pauci Parmenones.

But I mervele the leſſe that thies miſorders be amonges ſome in the court; for commonlie in the contrie alſo everie where, innocencie is gone, baſhfulneſſe is vaniſhed; moch preſumption in youthe, ſmall authoritie in aige; reverence is neglected, dewties be confounded; and, to be ſhorte, diſobedience doth overflow the banks of good order, almoſte in everie place, almoſte in everie degree of man.

Miſorders in the countrie.

Meane men have eies to ſee, and cauſe to lament, and occaſion to complaine of thies miſeries; but others have authoritie to remedie them, and will do ſo to, when God ſhall think time fitte. For all thies miſorders be Goddes juſte plages, by his ſufferance brought juſtlie upon us, for our ſinnes, which be infinite in nomber, and horrible in deede; but namelie, for the greate abhominable ſin of unkindneſſe. But what unkindneſſe? Even ſuch unkindneſſe as was in the *Jewes*, in contemning Goddes voice, in ſhrinking from his worde, in wiſhing backe againe for *Egypt*, in committing aduoultrie and hordom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of *Babylon*; did bring all the plages, deſtructions, and captivities, that fell ſo ofte and horrible upon *Iſrael*.

Contempt of Gods trewe religion.

We have cauſe alſo in *England* to beware of unkindneſſe, who have had, in ſo fewe yeares, the candel of Goddes worde ſo oft lightned, ſo oft

oft put out; and yet will venture, by our unthankfulneſſe in doctrine and ſinfull life, to leeſe againe lighte, candle, candleſticke and all. Doctrina, Mores.

God kepe in us his feare; God grafte in us the trewe knowledge of his worde, with a forward will to follow it, and ſo to bryng forth the ſweete fruites of it; and then ſhall he preſerve us by his grace, from all manner of terrible dayes.

The remedie of this, doth not ſtand onelie in making good common lawes for the hole realme, but alſo (and perchance chieflie) in obſerving private diſcipline, everie man carefullie in his own houſe; and namelie if ſpecial regard be had to youth; and that, not ſo much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that that is ill. Publicæ leges. Domeſtica diſciplina. Cognitio boni, Ignoratio mali.

Therefore, if wiſe fathers be not as well aware in weedeing from their children ill things and ill companie, as they were before in graftinge in them learning, and providing for them good ſcholemaſters, what frute they ſhall reape of all their coſte and care, common experience doth tell.

Here is the place, in youth is the time when ſome ignorance is as neceſſarie, as moch knowledge; and not in matters of our dewtie towardes God, as ſome wilful wittes willinglie againſt their owne knowledge, perniciouſly againſt their owne conſcience, have of late openlie taught. Indeede St. *Chryſoſtome*, that noble and eloquent doctor, * in a ſermon "*contra Fatum*, and the curious ſerching of nativities," doth wiſely ſaie, that "ignorance therein, is better than knowledge." But to wring this ſentence, to wreſte thereby out of mens handes the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reaſon, againſt common ſenſe, Some ignorance as good as knowledge. Chryſoſt. de Fato.

* The paſſage here pointed to, is in St. *Chryſoſtome*'s fifth Diſcourſe περὶ Εἱμαρμένης καὶ Προνόιας. A captious queſtion being put, *How comes one man to be rich, and another poor?* he anſwers, "Though we were never ſo ignorant of the reaſons of theſe things, yet 'tis far bet-"ter to continue in our ignorance, than to admit of any impious tenet or opinion. Βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν καλῶς, ἢ εἰδέναι κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει καλήγοριαν, τὸ δὲ ἀπεξέρηται συγγνώμης. *Tom.* 6. *pag.* 878. *edit.* Savil. To this I ſhall ſubjoin, what we meet with in *Æſchylus*, Δόγμα Ἐπικύρειον, as the ſcholiaſt calls it:

Τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρεῖσσον, ἢ μαθεῖν τάδε.

contrarie

contrarie to the judgement alſo of them, which be the diſcreteſt men, and beſt learned, on their own ſide. I know * *Julianus Apoſtata* did ſo; but I never hard or red, that any auncyent father of the primitive church, either thought or wrote ſo.

Julianus Apoſtata.

Innocencie in youth.

But this ignorance in youthe, which I ſpake on, or rather this ſimplicitie, or moſt trewlie, this innocencie, is that, which the noble *Perſians*, as wiſe *Xenophon* doth teſtifie, were ſo careful to breede up their youthe in. But chriſtian fathers commonlie do not ſo. And I will tell you a tale, as moch to be miſliked, as the *Perſians* example is to be folowed.

A child ill brought up.

This laſt Somer I was in a jentlemans houſe, where a young childe, ſomewhat paſt four yeare olde, could in no wiſe frame his tonge, to ſaie a little ſhorte grace; and yet he could roundly rap out ſo manie uglie othes, and thoſe of the neweſt facion, as ſome good man of fourſcore year olde hath never hard named before. And that which was moſt deteſtable of all, his father and mother would laughe at it. I moche doubte what comforte an other daie this childe ſhall bring unto them. This childe uſinge moch the company of ſervingmen, and gevinge good eare to their taulke, did eaſilie learne, which he ſhall hardlie forget all the daies of his life hereafter. So likewiſe in the courte, if a yong jentleman will venture himſelfe into the companie of ruffians, it is over great a jeopardie, leſt their facions, maners, thoughts, taulke, and deedes, will verie ſone be over like. "The confounding "of companies, breedeth confuſion of good maners, both in the courte "and everie where elſe."

Ill parents.

Ill companie.

And it maie be a great wonder, but a greater ſhame, to us chriſtian men, to underſtand what a heithen writer, *Iſocrates*, doth leave in

Iſocrates.

* *Julian* put forth a ſevere edict, whereby he forbad the Chriſtians publickly in the ſcholes either to teach, or ſtudy humane literature. For which *Gregory Nazianzene* thus warmly inveighs againſt him, though playing too much with the word λόγος. Κἀκεῖνῳ πρέπουσα δίκη, λόγῳ κολάζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς λόγους παρανομίας. Ὧν κοινῶν ὄντων λογικοῖς ἅπασι, ὡς ἰδίων αὐτὸ, Χριστιάνοις ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλογώτατα περὶ λόγων διανοηθεὶς ὁ πάντων, ὡς ᾤετο, λογιώτατος. Στηλ. α'. *pag.* 4. *edit.* Eton. "Illud autem inclemens, obruendum perenni ſilentio, quod "arcebat docere magiſtros rhetoricos & grammaticos ritus Chriſtiani cultores." *Ammianus Marcellinus, lib.* 21.

memorie

memorie of writing, concerning the care that the noble citie of *Athens* had, to bring up their youthe in honeſt companie, and vertuous diſcipline; whoſe taulke in *Greke*, is to this effect in *Engliſhe*.

" The citie was not more carefull to ſee their children well taughte, " than to ſee their young men well governed; which they brought to " paſſe, not ſo much by common lawe, as by private diſcipline. For " they had more regard, that their youthe by good order ſhould not " offend, than how, by lawe, they might be puniſhed; and if offenſe " were committed, there was neither waie to hide it, nor hope of " pardon for it. Good natures were not ſo moch openly praiſed, as " they were ſecretlie marked, and watchfullie regarded, leſt they ſhould " leaſe the goodnes they had. Therefore, in ſholes of ſinging and " dancing, and other honeſt exerciſes, governours were appointed, " more diligent to overſee their good maners, than their maſters were " to teach them anie learning. It was ſome ſhame to a young man " to be ſeen in the open market; and if for buſineſſe he paſſed through " it, he did it with a marvelous modeſtie, and baſhefull facion. To " eate or drinke in a taverne, was not onlie a ſhame, but alſo puniſh- " able, in a yong man. To contrarie, or to ſtand in termes with an " olde man, was more henious, * than in ſome place to rebuke and " ſcholde with his owne father." With manie other mo good orders, and faire diſciplines, which I referre to their reading, that have luſt to looke upon the deſcription of ſoch a worthie common wealthe. In Orat. Ariopag.

And to know what worthie frute did ſpring of ſoch worthie ſede, I will tell you the moſt mervell of all, and yet ſoch a trothe, as no Good ſede worthie frute

* In this citation out of *Iſocrates*, Mr. *Aſcham* has rather given the ſenſe of ſeveral paſſages, than a ſtrict tranſlation of his author: and perhaps he might truſt to his memory, without conſulting the original; which is no uncommon thing with learned men. What is here expreſſed, *than in ſome place*, is in the Greek, ἢ νῦν: which is not a compariſon between *Athens*, and ſome other ſtate, in point of ſtrict diſcipline and regularity of manners, but a complaint of a decay herein, and of a degeneracy in the preſent age from the good conduct of former times.

The latter part, where he keeps ſomewhat cloſer to the original, I ſhall tranſcribe: Οὕτω δ' ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὥςε εἰ καί ποτε διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἀντειπεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτεροις, ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι, δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον, ἢ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτάνειν. ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, οὐθεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικὴς ἐτόλμησε.

man ſhall denie it, except ſoch as be ignorant in knowledge of the beſt ſtories.

Athens. *Athens*, by this diſcipline and good ordering of youthe, did breede up, within the circute of that one citie, within the compas of one hondred yeares, within the memorie of one mans life, ſo manie notable captaines in warre, for worthineſſe, wiſdome and learning, as be ſcarce matchable, Rome. no not in the ſtate of *Rome*, in the compas of thoſe ſeven hondred yeares, when it flouriſhed moſte.

The noble captaines of Athens. And becauſe I will not onlie ſaie it, but alſo prove it, the names of them be theſe: *Miltiades*, *Themiſtocles*, *Xantippus*, *Pericles*, *Cymon*, *Alcybiades*, *Thraſybulus*, *Conon*, *Iphicrates*, *Xenophon*, *Timotheus*, *Theopompus*, *Demetrius*, and divers other mo: of which everie one, maie juſtlie be ſpoken that worthie praiſe, which was geven to *Scipio Africanus*, who *Cicero* douteth, "whether he were more noble captaine in warre, or "more eloquent and wiſe councelor in peace." And if ye believe not Æmil. Probus. Plutarchus. me, read diligentlie * *Æmilius Probus* in *Latin*, and *Plutarche* in *Greeke*; which two had no cauſe either to flatter or lie upon any of thoſe which I have recited.

The learned men of Athens. And beſides nobilitie in warre, for excellent and matchleſs maſters in all maner of learninge, in that one citie, in memorie of one age, were mo learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all tyme doth remember, than all place doth affourde, than all other tonges do conteine. And I do not meane of thoſe authors, which, by injurie of tyme, by negligence of men, by crueltie of fier and ſworde, be loſt; but even of thoſe, which by Goddes grace, are left yet unto us; of which, I thank God, even my poore ſtudie lacketh not one. As in philoſophie, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Xenophon*, *Euclide*, and *Theophraſt*: in eloquence and civill lawe, *Demoſthenes*, *Æſchines*, *Lycurgus*, *Dinarchus*, *Demades*, *Iſocrates*, *Iſæus*, *Lyſias*, *Antiſthenes*, *Andocides*: in hiſtorie, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and which we lacke, to our great loſſe, *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*:

* *Cornelius Nepos*, whoſe works by a miſtake have gone under the name of *Æmilius Probus*; who ſeems to have no other title to them, than as he took care to have them copied out for the uſe of the Emperor *Theodoſius*.

in poetrie, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, and ſomewhat of *Menander*, *Demoſthenes* ſiſter ſonne.

Now let *Italian*, and *Latin* itſelf, *Spaniſhe*, *French*, *Douch*, and *Engliſhe*, bring forth their learning, and recite their authors, *Cicero* onlie excepted, and one or two moe in *Latin*, they be all patched cloutes and ragges, in compariſon of faire woven broade clothes; and trewlie, if there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borrowed, or ſtolne, from ſome of thoſe worthie wittes of *Athens*. Learning chieflie contained in the Greke, and in no other tonge.

The remembrance of ſoch a common welthe, uſing ſoch diſcipline and order for youthe, and thereby bringing forth to their praiſe, and leaving to us for our example, ſoch capitaines for warre, ſoch councellors for peace, and matchles maſters for all kinde of learninge, is pleaſant for me to recite, and not irkſum, I truſt, for others to heare, except it be ſoch, as make neither counte of virtue nor learninge.

And whether there be anie ſoch, or no, I cannot well tell; yet I heare ſaie, ſome yonge jentlemen of oures, count it their ſhame to be counted learned; and perchance they count it their ſhame, to be counted honeſt alſo; for I heare ſaie, they meddle as little with the one, as with the other. A mervelous caſe, that jentlemen ſhould ſo be aſhamed of good learning, and never a whit aſhamed of ill manners! Soch do ſaie for them, that the jentlemen of *France* do ſo; which is a lie, as God will have it. *Langæus*, and *Bellæus* that be dead, and the noble *Vidam* of *Chartres*, that is alive, and infinite mo in *France*, which I heare tell of, prove this to be moſt falſe. And though ſome in *France*, which will nedes be jentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more jentleſhippe in their hat, than in their head, be at deadlie feude, with both learning and honeſtie; yet I believe, if * that noble prince, King *Francis* the firſt, were alive, they ſhould have neither place in his courte, nor penſion in his warres, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not *French*, but plaine *Turkiſhe*, from whens ſome *Frenche* fetche moe faultes than this; which, I praie God, kepe out of *England*, and Contemners of learning. Gentlemen of France. Franciſcus I: nobiliſ. Francorum rex.

* *Eraſmus*, whoſe friendſhip this excellent prince courted very much, gives us this account of him: "Magis habet ſtudio, ut regnum ſuum optimis legibus, incorruptis moribus, honeſtiſſimis ſtudiis locupletet, exornet, illuſtret, quam ut ditionis ſuæ pomœria proferat."

ſend alſo thoſe of oures better mindes, which bend themſelves againſte vertue and learninge, to the contempte of God, diſhonor of their contrie, to the hurt of manie others, and at lengthe, to the greateſt harme and utter deſtruction of themſelves.

Experience without learning.

Some other, having better nature, but leſſe witte, (for ill commonlie have over much witte) do not utterlie diſpraiſe learning, but they ſaie, that without learning, common experience, knowledge of all facions, and haunting all companies, ſhall worke in youthe both wiſdome, and abilitie, to execute anie weightie affaire. Surelie long experience doth proffet much, but moſte, and almoſt onelie to him (if we meane honeſt affaires) that is diligentlie before inſtructed with preceptes of well doinge. For good preceptes of learning be the eyes of the minde, to looke wiſelie before a man, which waie to go right, and which not.

Learning. Experience.

Learning teacheth more in one yeare, than experience in twentie; and learning teacheth ſafelie, when experience maketh mo miſerable than wiſe. He haſardeth ſore, that waxeth wiſe by experience. An unhappy maſter he is, that is made cunning by manie ſhippewrakes; a miſerable merchant, that is neither riche nor wiſe, but after ſome bankroutes. It is coſtlie wiſdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itſelfe, that it is a marvelous paine, to find out but a ſhort waie by long wandering. And ſurelie, he that would prove wiſe by experience, he maie be wittie indeede, but even like a ſwift runner, that runneth faſt out of his waie, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verelie they be feweſt in number that be happie or wiſe by unlearned experience. And looke well upon the former life of thoſe fewe, whether your example be old or yonge, who without learning have gathered, by long experience, a little wiſdome, and ſome happineſs; and when you do conſider, what miſchiefe they have committed, what dangers they have eſcaped, (and yet twentie for one do periſhe in the adventure) then thinke well with your ſelfe, whether ye wold that your owne ſon ſhould come to wiſdome and happines by the waie of ſuch experience, or no.

Syr Roger Chamloe.

It is a notable tale, that old Syr *Roger Chamloe*, ſometime chiefe juſtice, wold tell of himſelfe. When he was *Auncient* in inn of court, certaine

certaine yong jentlemen were brought before him to be corrected for certaine miſorders; and one of the luſtieſt ſaide, "Syr, we be yong jen- "tlemen; and wiſe men before us have proved all facions, and yet thoſe "have done full well." This they ſaid, becauſe it was well known, Syr *Roger* had bene a good felloe in his youth. But he anſwered them verie wiſelie: "Indeede, ſaith he, in youthe I was as you are now: and I had twelve felloes like unto myſelf, but not one of them came to a good ende. And therefore, folow not my example in youth, but folow my councell in aige, if ever ye thinke to come to this place, or to thies yeares, that I am come unto; leſſe ye meete either with povertie or *Tiburn* in the way."

Thus, experience of all facions in youthe, beinge in profe alwaiſe dangerous, in iſhue ſeldom luckie, is a waie indeede to over moch knowledge; yet uſed commonlie of ſoch men, which be either caried by ſome curious affection of mynde, or driven by ſome hard neceſſitie of life, to haſard the triall of over manie perilous adventures. Experience.

Eraſmus, the honor of learning of all oure time, ſaide wiſelie, "that "experience is the common ſcholehouſe of fooles, and ill men. Men "of witte and honeſtie, be otherwiſe inſtructed. For there be, that "kepe them out of fier, and yet was never burned; that be ware of "water, and yet was never nie drowninge; that hate harlottes, and "was never at the ſtewes; that abhorre falſhoode, and never brake "promis themſelves." Eraſmus. Experience the ſcholehouſe of fooles and ill men.

But will ye ſee a fit ſimilitude of this adventured experience? A father that doth let louſe his ſon to all experiences, is moſt like a fond hunter, that letteth ſlippe a whelpe to the hole herde: twentie to one, he ſhall fall upon a raſcall, and let go the faire game. Men that hunt ſo, be either ignorant perſones, privie ſtealers, or night walkers.

Learning therefore, ye wiſe fathers, and good bringing up, and not blinde and dangerous experience, is the next and readieſt waie, that muſt lede your children, firſt to wiſdom, and then to worthineſſe, if ever ye purpoſe they ſhall come there.

And

How experience may proffit.

And to saie all in shorte, though I lacke authoritie to give counsell, yet I lack not good will to wishe, that the youthe in *England*, specallie jentlemen, and namelie nobilitie, shold be by good bringing up so grounded in judgement of learninge, so founded in love of honestie, as when they should be called forthe to the execution of great affaires, in service of their prince and contrie, they might be hable to use, and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad, and that according to the square, rule, and line, of wisdom, learning and vertue.

Diligent learning ought to be joyned with pleasant pastimes, namelie in a jentleman.

And I do not meene, by all this my taulke, that yong jentlemen should alwaies be poring on a booke, and by using good studies, shold lease honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime; I meane nothing lesse: for it is well knowne, that I bothe like and love, and have alwaies, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes, that be fitte for my nature and habilitie. And beside naturall disposition, in judgement also I was never, either stoick in doctrine, or anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merie, pleasant, and plaifull nature; if no outrage be committed against lawe, measure, and good order.

Therefore I would wishe, that beside some good time, fitlie appointed, and constantlie kepte, to encrease by reading the knowledge of the tongues, and learning; yong jentlemen shold use, and delite in all courtlie exercises, and jentlemanlike pastimes. And good cause why: for the self same noble citie of *Athens*, justlie commended of me before, did wiselie, and upon great consideration, appoint the Muses, *Apollo*, and *Pallas*, to be patrones of learning to their youthe. For the muses, besides learning, were also ladies of dauncinge, mirthe and minstrelsie: *Apollo* was god of shooting, and author of cunning playing upon instrumentes; *Pallas* also was ladie mistres in warres. Wherebie was nothing elfe ment, but that learning should be alwaise mingled with honest mirthe, and comlie exercises; and that warre also shold be governed by learning, and moderated by wisdom; as did well appeare in those captaines of *Athens* named by me before, and also in *Scipio* and *Cæsar*, the two diamondes of *Rome*. And *Pallas* was no more feared in weering *Ægida*, than she was praised for chosing *Olivam*; whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus was governor and mistres, in the noble citie of *Athens*, both of warre and peace.

Learning joyned with pastimes.

Musæ.

Apollo.

Pallas.

Learning rewleth both warre and peace.

Therefore

Therefore to ride comlie, to run faire at the tilte or ring; to plaie at all weapones, to ſhote faire in bow, or ſurelie in gun; to vant luſtely; to runne, to leape, to wreſtle, to ſwimme; to daunce comlie, to ſing, and play on inſtrumentes cunnyngly; to hawke, to hunte; to playe at tennes, and all paſtimes generally, which be joyned with labor, uſed in open place, and on the day light, conteining either ſome fitte exerciſe for warre, or ſome pleaſant paſtime for peace, be not onlie comlie and decent, but alſo verie neceſſarie for a courtlie jentleman to uſe. The paſtimes that be fitte for courtlie jentlemen.

But of all kinde of paſtimes, fitte for a jentleman, I will, God willing, in fitter place more at large declare fullie, in my "book of the "Cockpitte;" which I do write to ſatisfie ſome, I truſt with ſome reaſon, that be more curious in marking other mens doinges, than carefull in mendyng their own faultes. And ſome alſo will nedes buſie themſelves in merveling, and adding thereunto unfrendlie taulke; why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my prince, do make choiſe to ſpend ſoch tyme in writyng of trifles; as "the Schole "of Shooting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the firſt principles of "Grammar," rather than to take ſome weightie matter in hand, either of religion, or civill diſcipline. The Cockpitte.

Wiſe men, I know, will well allow of my choiſe herein; and as for ſoch, who have not witte of themſelves, but muſt learne of others to judge right of mens doynges, let them read that wiſe poet *Horace*, in his *Arte Poetica*, who willeth men to be ware of hie and loftie titles. For great ſhippes require coſtlie tackling, and alſo afterward dangerous government: ſmall boates be neither verie chargeable in makyng, nor verie oft in great jeopardie; and yet they carry many tymes as good and coſtlie ware as greater veſſels do. A meane argument may eaſilie beare the light burden of a ſmall faute, and have alwaiſe at hand a ready excuſe for ill handling; and ſome praiſe it is, if it ſo chaunce to be better in deede than a man dare venture to ſeeme. A hie title doth charge a man with the heavie burden of too great a promiſe; and therefore ſayth *Horace* verie wittelie, that that poete was a very foole that began hys booke with a good verſe indeede, but over proude a promiſe: A booke of a loftie title beareth the brag of over greate a promiſe. The right choice to chooſe a fitte argument to write upon. Hor. in Arte Poet.

For-

Fortunam Priami cantabo, & nobile bellum:

And after as wiſelie;

Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte? &c.

meaning *Homer*; who, within the compaſſe of a ſmall argument of one harlot, and of one good wife, did utter ſo moch learning in all kind of ſciences*, as, by the judgement of *Quintilian*, "he deſerveth ſo "hie a praiſe, that no man yet deſerved to ſit in the ſecond degree "beneth him." And thus much out of my waie, concerning my purpoſe in ſpending penne, and paper, and tyme, upon trifles; and namelie to aunſwere ſome, that have neither witte nor learning to do any thyng themſelves, neither will nor honeſtie, to ſay well of others.

Homers wiſdom in choice of his argument.

The Cortegian, an excellent booke for a jentleman.

To joine learning with comlie exerciſes, *Conto Baldeſar Caſtiglione*, in his booke *Cortegiane*, doth trimlie teache: which booke, adviſedlie read, and diligentlie followed, but one yeare at home in *Englande*, would do a yong jentleman more good, I wiſſe, than three yeares travell abrode ſpent in *Italie*. And I mervell this booke is no more read in the court than it is; ſeeing it is † ſo well tranſlated into *Engliſhe* by a worthie jentleman, Syr *Tho. Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furniſhed with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tonges.

Syr Tho. Hobbie.

Examples better than preceptes.

And beſide good preceptes in bookes, in all kind of tonges, this court alſo never lacked many faire examples for yong jentlemen to follow. And ſurelie one example is more valuable, both to good and ill, than twentie preceptes written in bookes; and ſo *Plato*, not in one or two, but diverſe places, doth plainlie teach.

* *Quintilianus, lib.* x. "Utar verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi in-"terroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere; *ſecundus*, inquit, *eſt Virgilius; pro-"pior tamen primo, quàm tertio.*"

† This book was ſoon after (and perhaps the ſooner for this great character here given) tranſlated into excellent Latin by Mr. *Clerke*, Fellow of King's College in *Cambridge*, with this title; *Balthaſaris Caſtilionis comitis de curiali, ſive Aulico, libri quatuor, ex Italico ſermone in Latinum converſi.*

If

If Kyng *Edward* had lived a little longer, his onely example had bred ſoch a race of worthie learned jentlemen, as this realme never yet did affourde. King Ed. 6.

And in the ſecond degree, two noble primeroſes of nobilitie, * the yong Duke of *Suffolke*, and † Lord *Hen. Matravers*, were ſoch two examples to the court for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wiſhe than look for agayne. The yong Duke of Suffolke. Lord H. Matravers.

At *Cambridge* alſo, in St. *John*'s college, in my tyme, I do know, that not ſo much the good ſtatutes, as two jentlemen of worthie memorie, Syr *John Cheke*, and Dr. *Readman*, by their only example of excellency in learnyng, of godlynes in livyng, of diligence in ſtudying, of councell in exhorting, by good order in all thyngs, did breed up ſo many learned men in that one college of St. *John*'s, at one tyme, as I believe the whole univerſitie of *Lovaine* in many yeares, was never able to affourd. Syr John Cheke. Dr. Readman.

Preſent examples of this preſent tyme I liſt not to touch; yet there is one example for all the jentlemen of this court to follow, that may well ſatisfie them, or nothing will ſerve them, nor no example move them to goodnes and learnyng.

* The moſt noble *Henry Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, with his brother *Charles*, were both carried off by the ſweating-ſickneſs at the ſame time. Their death Dr. *Haddon* laments in an elegant oration very affectionately: "Poſtquam inundantes, & in Cantabrigiam effer-" veſcentes æſtivi ſudores, illud præſtans & aureolum par Suffolcienſium fratrum, tum qui-" dem peregrinatum à nobis, ſed tamen planè noſtrum, obruerunt; ſic ingemuimus, ut in-" finitus dolor, vix ullam tanti mali levationem invenire poſſet. —— Dux ipſe, licet nondum " plane vir, tamen & annis ad juventutem pæne adoleverat, & ingenio ad omnes res geren-" das ita ematuruerat, ut ex his omnibus nihil illi abeſſet, quibus illuſtrem perſonam vel or-" nari deceret, vel inſtitui conveniret. Gravis erat ſine ſuperbia, comis ſine levitate; doci-" litate ſummâ, minimo ut ſtudio eſſet opus, diligentiâ tamen ejuſmodi, quæ naturam poſſet " etiam ex tarditate incitare."

† This young nobleman, of the *Arundel* family, being ſent in quality of envoy to the Emperor by Queen *Mary*, having over-heated his blood by the ſpeed he made, fell into a fever, and died the laſt of *July*, in the nineteenth year of his age, as we learn from the above-mention'd author:

Quatuor à luſtris unum ſi dempſeris annum,
Hæc Matraverſi morientis habebitur ætas;
Qui poſt Edvardum majus nil Anglia vidit.

Queene Elifabeth.

It is your ſhame, (I ſpeak to you all, you yong jentlemen of *Englande)* that one mayd ſhould go beyond you all in excellencie of learnyng, and knowledge of divers tonges. Pointe forth ſix of the beſt given jentlemen of this court, and all they together ſhew not ſo much good will, ſpend not ſo much tyme, beſtow not ſo many houres dayly, orderly, and conſtantly, for the increaſe of learnyng and knowledge, as doth the Queenes Majeſtie herſelfe. Yea I believe, that beſide her perfit readines in *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh*, * ſhe readeth here now at *Windſore* more *Greeke* every day, than ſome prebendarie of this church doth read *Latin* in a whole weeke. And that which is moſt praiſe-worthie of all, within the walls of her privie chamber, ſhe hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to underſtand, ſpeake, and write both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as ſcarſe one or two rare wittes in both the univerſities have in many yeares reached unto. Amongeſt all the benefites that God hath bleſſed me withall, next the knowledge of Chriſtes true religion, I counte this the greateſt, that it pleaſed God to call me to be one poore miniſter in ſettyng forward theſe excellent giftes of learnyng in this moſt excellent prince; whoſe only example if the reſt of our nobilitie would follow, then might *Englande* be, for learnyng and wiſedome in nobilitie, a ſpectacle to all the world beſide. But ſee the miſhap of men; the beſt examples have never ſuch forſe to move to any goodnes, as the bad, vaine, light and fond, have to all illnes.

Ill examples have more force than good examples.

And one example, though out of the compas of learnyng, yet not out of the order of good maners, was notable in this court not fullie twentie foure yeares ago; when all the actes of parliament, many good proclamations, diverſe ſtrait commandementes, ſore puniſhments openlie, ſpecial regarde privatelie, could not do ſo moch to take away one miſorder, as

* Mr. *Aſcham*, in his Diſcourſe of the affairs of *Germany*, ſpeaking of *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, *Luther*'s great friend and defender, hath this paſſage not unlike what he here relates of his royal miſtreſs.

"It is marvellous, that my friend *Joannes Sturmius* doth report by writing, what he heard "*Philip Melanćthon* at a time ſay of this noble Duke, that he thought the Duke did privately "read and write more every day, than did both he and Dr. *Aurifaber*; which two were "counted in all mens judgments to be the greateſt readers and writers in all the univerſity of "*Wittemberg*."

This I the rather add, becauſe I have heard this place cenſured; as if Mr. *Aſcham* had failed in point of civility and good manners, and intended a reflection by the compariſon.

the

the example of one big one of this courte did, ſtill to keep up the ſame: the memory whereof doth yet remaine in a common proverb of *Birching Lane*.

Great men in court by their example make or marre all other mens maners.

Take hede therefore, ye great ones in the court, yea though ye be the greateſt of all, take hede what ye do; take hede how ye live: for as you great ones uſe to do, ſo all meane men love to do. You be indeed makers, or marrers, of all mens maners within the realme. For though God hath placed you to be chief in making of lawes, to beare greateſt authoritie, to command all others; yet God doth order, that all your lawes, all your authoritie, all your commandementes, do not halfe ſo moch with meane men, as doth your example and maner of livinge. And for example, even in the greateſt matter, if you yourſelves do ſerve God gladlie and orderlie for conſeience ſake, not coldlie, and ſomtyme for maner ſake, you carie all the court with you, and the whole realme beſide, earneſtlie and orderlie to do the ſame. If you do otherwiſe, you be the onlie authors of all miſorders in religion, not onlie to the courte, but to all *Englande* beſide. Infinite ſhall be made cold in religion by your example, that never were hurt by reading of books.

Example in religion.

Example in apparell.

And in meaner matters, if three or foure great ones in courte will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hoſe, in monſtrous hattes, in gaurſhe colours; let the prince proclame, make lawes, order, puniſhe, commaunde everie gate in *London* dailie to be watched; let all good men beſide do everie where what they can; ſurelie the miſorder of apparell in mean men abrode ſhall never be amended, except the greateſt in courte will order and mend themſelves firſt. I know ſome greate and good ones in courte were authors, that honeſt citizens of *London* ſhould watch at everie gate to take miſordered perſones in apparell: I know that honeſt *Londoners* did ſo; and I ſawe (which I ſawe then, and reporte now with ſome griefe) that ſome courtelie men were offended with theſe good men of *London*: and that which greved me moſt of all, I ſawe the verie ſame tyme, for all theſe good orders commaunded from the courte, and executed in *London*; I ſawe, I ſay, come out of *London*, even unto the preſence of the prince, a great rable of mean and light perſones, in apparell, for matter againſt lawe, for making againſt order,

Maſters, uſhers and ſchollers of fence.

for facion, namelie hoſe, ſo without all order, as he thought himſelfe moſt brave, that durſt do moſt in breaking order, and was moſt monſterous in miſorder. And for all the great commandementes that came out of the courte, yet this bold miſorder was winked at, and borne withall in the courte. I thought it was not well, that ſome great ones of the court durſt declare themſelves offended with good men of *London*, for doing their dewtie; and the good ones of the courte would not ſhew themſelves offended with ill men of *London*, for breaking good order. I found thereby a ſayinge of *Socrates* to be moſt trewe, "that "ill men be more haſtie, than good men be forwarde, to proſecute "their purpoſes;" even as Chriſt himſelfe ſaith of *the children of light and darkneſs*.

Beſide apparell, in all other thinges too, not ſo moch good lawes and ſtrait commandementes, as the example and maner of living of great men, doth carrie all meane men everie where to like, and love, and do, as they do. For if but two or three noble men in the court wold but beginne to ſhoote, all young jentlemen, the whole court, all *London*, the whole realme, wold ſtraightwaie exerciſe ſhooting.

Example in ſhooting.

What praiſe ſhold they wynne to themſelves, what commoditie ſhold they bring to their contrie, that would thus deſerve to be pointed at; "*Behold there goeth the author of good order, the guide of good "men?" I could ſay more, and yet not over moch. But perchance ſome will ſay, I have ſtepte to farre out of my ſchole into the common welthe; from teaching a yong ſcholer, to moniſhe great and noble

* Men of true worth and excellency, as they juſtly challenge all due reſpect, ſo they draw the eyes of the world after them, wherever they go. *Demoſthenes* never appeared in publick, but he was marked out by the admiring multitude, as he paſſed along, one crying to another, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος. To this *Lucian* alludes in his *Dream*. Τοιαῦτά σοι περιθήσω τὰ γνωρίσματα, ὥστε τῶν ὁρώντων ἕκαστον τὸν πλησίον κινήσας, δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνον, λέγων. This *Horace* expreſſes with ſome ſatisfaction, as being his own caſe:

Totum muneris hoc tui eſt,
Quòd monſtror digito prætereuntium,
Romanæ fidicen lyræ.

So *Pliny*, in his letter to *Maximus*: "An ſi Demoſthenes jure lætatus eſt, quod illum "anus Attica ita demonſtravit, Οὗτός ἐστι Δημοσθένης, ego celebritate nominis mei gaudere "non debeo?"

men:

men: yet I truſt good and wiſe men will thinke and judge of me, that my minde was not ſo much to be buſie and bold with them, that be great now, as to give trewe advice to them, that may be great hereafter; who if they do, as I wiſhe them to do, how great ſoever they be now by blood, and other mens meanes, they ſhall become a great deale greater hereafter, by learninge, vertue, and their owne deſertes; "which is trewe praiſe, right worthineſs, and verie nobilitie indeede." Yet if ſome will needes preſſe me, that I am to bold with great men, and ſtray to farre from my matter, I will anſwere them with St. *Paul*, *Sive per contentionem, ſive quocunque modo, modò Chriſtus prædicetur*, &c. Even ſo, whether in place, or out of place, with my matter, or beſide my matter, if I can hereby either provoke the good, or ſtaye the ill, I ſhall think my writing herein well imployed.

Written not for great men, but for great mens children.

Ad Philip.

But to come downe from greate men, and hier matters, to my little children, and poore ſchole-houſe againe; I will, God willing, go forward orderlie, as I purpoſed, to inſtructe children, and yong men, both for learnyng and maners.

Hitherto I have ſhewed, what harme over moch feare bringeth to children; and what hurte ill companie, and over moch libertie, breedeth in youthe; meaning thereby, that from ſeven yeare olde to ſeventeene, love is the beſt allurement to learnyng; from ſeventeene to ſeven and twentie, that wiſe men ſhold carefullie ſee the ſteppes of youthe ſurelie ſtaide by good order, in that moſt ſlipperie tyme; and ſpeciallie in the courte, a place moſt dangerous for youthe to live in, without great grace, good regarde, and diligent looking to.

Syr *Richard Sackville*, that worthie jentleman of worthie memorie, as I ſayd in the begynnynge, in the queenes privie chamber at *Windſore*, after he had talked with me for the right choice of a good witte in a childe for learnyng, and of the trewe difference betwixt quicke and hard wittes; of alluring yong children by jentlenes to love learnyng, and of the ſpeciall care that was to be had, to keepe yong men from licentious livyng; he was moſt earneſt with me, to have me ſay my mynde alſo, what I thought concernyng the fanſie that many yong jentlemen of *Englande* have to travell abroad, and namely to lead a long life in *Italie*.

Traveling into Italie.

Italie. His requeſt, both for his authoritie, and good will toward me, was a ſufficient commaundement unto me, to ſatisfie his pleaſure with utteryng plainlie my opinion in that matter. "Syr, quoth I, I take "goyng thither, and living there, for a yonge jentleman, that doth "not goe under the kepe and garde of ſuch a man, as both by wiſe-"dome can, and authoritie dare rewle him, to be marvelous danger-"ous."

And why I ſaid ſo then, I will declare at large now, which I ſaid then privatelie, and write now openlie; not becauſe I do contemne either the knowledge of ſtrange and diverſe tonges, and namelie the *Italian* tonge, (which next the *Greek* and *Latin* tonge, I like and love above all other) or elſe becauſe I do deſpiſe the learnyng that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in ſtrange countries; or for any private malice that I beare to *Italie*; which contrie, and in it, namelie *Rome*, I have alwayes ſpeciallie honored: becauſe tyme was, when *Italie* and *Rome* have bene to the greate good of us that now live, the beſt breeders and bringers up of the worthieſt men, not onlie for wiſe ſpeakinge, but alſo for well doing, in all civill affaires, that ever was in the worlde. But now that tyme is gone, and though the place remayne, yet the olde and preſent maners do differ as farre, as blacke and white, as virtue and vice.

The Italian tonge.

Italia.

Roma.

Virtue once made that countrie miſtreſs over all the world; vice now maketh that contrie ſlave to them, that before were glad to ſerve it. All men ſee it; they themſelves confeſſe it, namelie ſoch as be beſt and wiſeſt amongeſt them. For ſinne, by luſt and vanitie, hath, and doth breed up every where, common contempt of Gods word, private contention in many families, open factions in every citie; and ſo making themſelves bonde to vanitie and vice at home, they are content to beare the yoke of ſerving ſtrangers abroad. *Italie* now, is not that *Italie*, that it was wont to be; and therefore now not ſo fitte a place as ſome do counte it, for yong men to fetch either wiſedome or honeſtie from thence. For ſurelie they will make others but bad ſcholers, that be ſo ill maſters to themſelves. Yet, if a jentleman will nedes travel into *Italie*, he ſhall do well to looke to the life of the wiſeſt traveler that ever traveled thither, ſet out by the wiſeſt writer that ever ſpake

ſpake with tonge, Gods doctrine onclie excepted; and that is *Ulyſſes* in *Homere*. Ulyſſes. Homere.

Ulyſſes, and his travel, I wiſhe our travellers to looke upon; not ſo much to feare them with the great daungers that he many times ſuffered, as to inſtruct them with his excellent wiſedome, which he alwayes, and every where uſed. Yea even thoſe that be learned and wittie travellers, when they be diſpoſed to praiſe traveling, as a great commendation, and the beſt ſcripture they have for it, they gladlie recite the * third verſe of *Homere*, in his firſt booke of *Odyſſea*, conteyning a great praiſe of *Ulyſſes*, for the witte he gathered, and wiſdome he uſed, in his traveling. Ὀδυσσ. α.

Which verſe, becauſe, in mine opinion, it was not made at the firſt more naturally in *Greke* by *Homere*, nor after turned more aptelie into *Latin* by *Horace*, than it was a good while ago, in *Cambridge*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, both plainlie for the ſenſe, and roundlie for the verſe, † by one of the beſt ſcholers that ever St. *John*'s college bred, M. *Watſon*, myne old friend, ſometime biſhop of *Lincolne*; therefore, for their ſake that have luſt to ſee how our *Engliſh* tonge, in avoidyng barbarous rhyming, may as well receive right quantitie of ſillables, and trewe order of verſifying, (of which matter more at large hereafter) as either *Greke* or *Latin*, if a cunning man have it in handling; I will ſet forth that one verſe in all three tonges, for an example to good wittes that ſhall delite in like learned exerciſe. Mr. Thomas Watſon.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Homer.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes. Horace.

All travellers do gladly report great prayſe of Ulyſſes,
For that he knew many mens maners, and ſaw many cities. Mr. Watſon.

* The three firſt verſes of *Homer*'s *Odyſſ.*

Ἄνδρά μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε.
Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

† This learned gentleman has left nothing behind him, that I know of, but a copy of *Latin* verſes, to recommend Mr *Seton*'s logick to the publick; as Mr. *Cheke* wrote excellently well in *Greek* upon the ſame ſubject.

And

Ulyſſ. Πολύτροπος. Ulyſſ. Πολύμητις. Pallas from Heaven. Alcynous. Οδ. η. Cyclops. Οδ. ι. Calypſo. Οδ. ι. Sirenes. Οδ. μ. Scylla. Οδ. μ. Charybdis. Οδ. μ. Circe. Οδ. κ. Οδ. λ.

And yet is not *Ulyſſes* commended ſo much, nor ſo oft in *Homere*, becauſe he was Πολύτροπος, that is, "ſkilfull in many mens maners and facions;" as becauſe he was Πολύμητις, that is, "wiſe in all purpoſes, "and ware in all places." Which wiſedome and warenes will not ſerve never a traveller, except *Pallas* be alwayes at his elbow; that is Gods ſpecial grace from Heaven, to kepe him in Gods feare in all his doings, in all his journeye. For he ſhall not allwaies in his abſence out of *Englande*, light upon a jentle *Alcynous*, and walke in his fair gardens, full of all harmeleſs pleaſures; but he ſhall ſomẽtymes fall either into the handes of ſome cruell *Cyclops*, or into the lappe of ſome wanton and dallying dame, *Calypſo*; and ſo ſuffer the danger of many a deadlie denne, not ſo full of perils to deſtroy the body, as full of vayne pleaſures to poyſon the minde. Some *Siren* ſhall ſing him a ſong, ſweete in tune, but ſownding in the ende to his utter deſtruction. If *Scylla* drowne him not, *Charybdis* may fortune to ſwalow him. Some *Circe* ſhall make him, of a plaine *Engliſhman*, a right *Italian*: and at length to Hell, or ſome helliſh place, is he likelie to go; from whence is hard returning, although one *Ulyſſes*, and that by *Pallas* ayde, and good counſell of *Tireſias*, once eſcaped that horible den of deadly darknes.

Therefore, if wiſe men will nedes ſend their ſonnes into *Italie*, let them do it wiſelie, under the kepe and garde of him, who, by his wiſedome and honeſtie, by his example and authoritie, may be hable to kepe them ſafe and ſound in the feare of God, in Chriſtes trewe religion, in good order, and honeſtie of livyng; except they will have them run headlong into over many jeoperdies, as *Ulyſſes* had done many tymes, if *Pallas* had not alwaies governed him; if he had not uſed to ſtop his eares with wax, to bind himſelfe to the maſt of his ſhyp, to feed dayly upon that ſweet herb *Moly* *, with the black roote and white flowere given unto hym by *Mercurie*, to avoide all the enchantmentes of *Circe*. Wherby the divine poete *Homere* ment covertlie (as wiſe

Οδ. μ. Οδ. κ. Moly Herba.

* Odyſſ. K. ver. 304.

Ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος·
Μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί. χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται.

and

and godlie men do judge) that love of honeſtie, and hatred of ill, which *David* more plainly doth call "the feare of God," the onely remedie againſt all inchantmentes of ſinne. Pſ. xxxiii.

I know diverſe noble perſonages, and many worthie jentlemen of *Englande*, whome all the *Siren* ſonges of *Italie* could never untwine from the maſte of Gods word; nor no inchantment of vanitie overturn them from the feare of God, and love of honeſtie.

But I know as many, or mo, and ſome, ſometyme my deare frendes, (for whoſe ſake I hate going into that contrey the more) who parting out of *Englande* fervent in the love of Chriſtes doctrine, and well furniſhed with the feare of God, returned out of *Italie* worſe transformed than ever was any in *Circes* court. I know diverſe, that went out of *Englande* men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng, who returned out of *Italie*, not only with worſe maners, but alſo with leſſe learnyng; neither ſo willing to live orderlie, nor yet ſo hable to ſpeake learnedlie, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? *Plato*, that wiſe writer, and worthy traveler himſelfe, telleth the cauſe why he went into *Sicilia*; a countrey no nigher *Italy* by ſite of place, than *Italie*, that is now, is like *Sicilia*, that was then, in all corrupt maners and licentiouſnes of life. *Plato* found in *Sicilia*, every citie full of vanitie, full of factions, even as *Italie* is now. And as *Homere*, like a learned poete, doth fayne that *Circe*, by pleaſant inchantmentes, did turne men into beaſts, ſome into ſwine, ſome into aſſes, ſome into foxes, ſome into wolves, *&c.* even ſo * *Plato*, like a wiſe philoſopher, doth plainly declare, that pleaſure by licentious vanitie, that ſweete and perilous Plat. ad Dionyſium, epiſt. 3.

* *Plato* ſeems to inſiſt upon a nicety, in the beginning of this letter to *Dionyſius*. 'Twas uſual to greet their friends in this form, Χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν; that is, wiſh 'em *joy, and true felicity, founded upon good conduct*. *Plato*, though he obſerves that *Dionyſius* had choſe the former, to careſs and compliment the *Delphian* god, beſpeaking him in this verſe,

Χαῖρε, καὶ ἡδόμενον βίοτον διάσωζε Τυράννῳ.

yet he himſelf approves only of the latter; which he conſtantly uſed to his friends, and that, for theſe reaſons, whereunto our author alludes:

perilous poyſon of all youth, doth ingender in all thoſe that yield up themſelves to her, foure notorious properties:

The fruites of vayne pleaſure.

1, Λήθην.
2, Δυσμαθίαν.
3, Ἀφροσύνην.
4, Ὕβριν.

Cauſes why men returne out of Italie leſſe learned and worſe manered.

The firſt, forgetfulneſs of all good thinges learned before; the ſecond, dulnes to receyve either learnyng or honeſtie ever after; the third, a mynde embracing lightlie the worſe opinion, and baren of diſcretion to make trewe difference betwixt good and ill, betwixt troth and vanitie; the fourth, a proude diſdainfulnes of other good men in all honeſt matters.

Homere and Plato joyned, and expounded.

Homere and *Plato* have both one meanyng, look both to one end. For if a man inglutte himſelfe with vanitie, or walter in filthines like a ſwyne, all learnyng, all goodneſs, is ſone forgotten. Then quicklie ſhall he become a dull aſſe, to underſtand either learnyng or honeſtie; and yet ſhall he be as ſubtle as a foxe, in breeding of miſchief, in bringing in miſorder with a buſie head, a diſcourſing tonge, and a factious harte, in every private affaire, in all matters of ſtate; with this prettie propertie, alwayes glad to commend the worſe partie, and ever ready to defend the falſer opinion. And why? For where will is given from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is ſone caryed from right judgement to any fond opinion in religion, in philoſophy, or any other kynde of learnyng. The fourth fruite of vaine pleaſure, by *Homere* and *Platos* judgement, is pride in themſelves, contempt of others, the very badge of all thoſe that ſerve in *Circes* court. The trewe meanyng of both *Homere* and *Plato*, is plainlie declared in one ſhort ſentence of the holy prophet of God *Hieremie*, crying out of the vaine and vicious life

A ſwyne.
An aſſe.
A foxe.

Ἀφροσύνη, quid & unde.

Ὕβρις.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδὲ ἀνθρώπῳ κλήσει, μὴ ὅτι δὴ θεῷ, παρακελευσαίμην ἂν δρᾶν τοῦτο. Θεῷ μὲν, ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν προσάττοιμ᾽ ἄν· (πόῤῥω γὰρ ἡδονῆς ἵδρυται καὶ λύπης τὸ θεῖον) ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ, ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ βλάβην ἡδονὴ καὶ λυπην γενᾶ, δυσμαθίαν, καὶ λήθην, καὶ ἀφροσύνην, καὶ ὕβριν τίκ|ουσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

of

of the *Iſraelites:* " This people (ſayth he) be fooles and dulhedes to Hieremias, cap. iv. ver. 22.
" all goodnes, but ſotle, cunning, and bolde in any miſchiefe," *&c.*

The trewe medicine againſt the inchantmentes of *Circe*, the vanitie of licentious pleaſure, the inticementes of all ſinne, is in *Homere* the herbe *Moly*, with the blacke roote, and white flowere, ſower at the firſt, but ſweete in the end; which *Heſiodus* termeth * the ſtudy of vertue, hard and irkſome in the beginning, but in the end eaſie and pleaſant. Heſiodus de virtute. And that which is moſt to be marveled at, the divine poete *Homere* ſayth plainlie, that this medicine againſt ſinne and vanitie, is not found out by man, but given and taught by God. And for ſome ones ſake, that will have delite to read that ſweet and godlie verſe, I will recite the very wordes of *Homere*, and alſo turne them into rude *Engliſhe* metre: Homerus, divinus poeta.

——— Χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γε ϑνητοῖσι. Θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται. Odyſſ. κ.

In *Engliſhe* thus;

No mortall man, with ſweat of browe, or toile of minde,
But onely God, who can do all, that herbe doth finde.

Plato alſo, that divine philoſopher, hath many godly medicines againſt the poyſon of vayne pleaſure, in many places, but ſpecially in his epiſtle to *Dionyſius*, the tyrant of *Sicilie*. Yet againſt thoſe that will nedes become beaſtes with ſerving of *Circe*, the prophet *David* crieth moſt loud; *Nolite fieri, ſicut equus, & mulus*; and by and by giveth the right medicine, the trewe herbe *Moly*, *In camo & fræno maxillas eorum conſtringe:* that is to ſay, " Let Gods grace be the bitte, let Gods feare Plat. ad Dionyſ. Pſal. xxxii. 9.

* The place in *Heſiod*, which he points to, is this, Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερ. ver. 289.

Τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα ϑεοὶ προπάροιϑεν ἔϑηκαν
Ἀθάναλοι. μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
Καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,
Ῥηϊδίη δὲ ἔπειτα τέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

These verſes *Lucian*, in his Νεκυομαντεία, calls πάνδημα ἔπη, *famous and celebrated verſes*. So *Ariſtotle*, Τοὺς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ῥίζας εἶναι πικρὰς, γλυκεῖς δὲ τὸς καρπούς. *Laertius*.

" be the bridle, to ſtay them from runnyng headlong into vice, and to " turne them into the right way agayne." *David*, in the ſecond pſalme after, giveth the ſame medicine, but in theſe plainer wordes, *Diverte à malo, & fac bonum.*

Pſal. xxxiv. 14.

But I am afraide, that over many of our travelers into *Italie* do not eſchewe the way to *Circes* court, but go, and ryde, and runne, and flie thither; they make great haſte to come to her; they make great ſuite to ſerve her; yea, I could point out ſome with my finger, that never had gone out of *Englande*, but onelie to ſerve *Circe* in *Italie*. Vanitie and vice, and any licence to ill livying in *Englande*, was counted ſtale and rude unto them. And ſo, being mules and horſes before they went, returne very ſwyne and aſſes home againe; yet everie where verie foxes with ſubtile and buſie heades; and where they may, verie wolves, with cruel malicious hearts. A marvelous monſter, whych, for filthineſs of living, for dulneſs to learnyng himſelfe, for wilineſs in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cauſe, ſhould carie at once, in one bodie, the bellie of a ſwyne, the head of an aſſe, the braine of a foxe, the wombe of a wolfe. If you thinke we judge amiſſe, and write to ſore againſt you, heare what the *Italian* ſayth of the *Engliſhman*; what the maſter reporteth of the ſcholer, who uttereth plainlie what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, ſaying, *Engleſe Italianato, e un Diabolo incarnato:* that is to ſay, " You re- " maine men in ſhape and facion, but become devils in life and con- " dition."

A trewe picture of a knight of Circes court.

The Italians judgement of Engliſhmen brought up in Italie.

This is not the opinion of one, for ſome private ſpite, but the judgement of all in a common proverbe, which riſeth of that learnyng, and thoſe maners, which you gather in *Italie*; a good ſchole-houſe of wholeſome doctrine, and worthy maſters of commendable ſcholers; where the maſter had rather diſfame hymſelfe for hys teaching, than not ſhame his ſcholer for his learnyng. A good nature of the maſter, and faire conditions of the ſcholers! And now choſe you, you *Italian Engliſhmen*, whether you will be angrye with us, for calling you monſters, or with the *Italianes*, for callyng you devils; or elſe with your own ſelves, that take ſo much paines, and go ſo farre, to make yourſelves both. If ſome do not well underſtand, what is an *Engliſhman* Italianated,

The Italian diffameth himſelfe, to ſhame the Engliſhman.

ed, I will plainlie tell him: "He that by living, and traveling in "*Italie*, bringeth home into *Englande*, out of *Italie*, the religion, the "learnyng, the pollicie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*." That is to ſay, for religion, papiſtrie, or worſe; for learnyng, leſſe commonly than they caried out with them; for pollicie, a factious hart, a diſcourſing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters; for experience, plentie of new miſchieves never known in *Englande* before; for maners, varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthie lyving.

An Engliſhman Italianated.

1. The religion, 2. the learnyng, 3. the pollicie, 4. the experience, and, 5. the maners, gotten in Italie.

Theſe be the inchantmentes of *Circe*, brought out of *Italie*, to marre mens maners in *Englande*; much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late tranſlated out of *Italian* into *Engliſhe*, ſold in every ſhop in *London*; commended by honeſt titles, the ſoner to corrupt honeſt maners; dedicated over boldlie to vertuous and honourable perſonages, the eaſilier to beguile ſimple and innocent wittes. "It is pitie, that thoſe which have authoritie and charge, to allow and "diſallow bookes to be printed, be no more circumſpect herein than "they are." Ten ſermons at *Paules Croſſe* do not ſo moch good for movyng men to trewe doctrine, as one of thoſe bookes do harme, with inticing men to ill living. Yea, I ſay farder, thoſe bookes tend not ſo moch to corrupt honeſt livying, as they do to ſubvert trewe religion. Mo Papiſtes be made by your mery bookes of *Italie*, than by your earneſt bookes of *Louvain*. And bicauſe our great phyſicians do winke at the matter, and make no count of this ſore, I, though not admitted one of their fellowſhyp, yet havyng bene many yeares a prentice to Gods trewe religion, and truſt to continewe a poore journeyman therein all dayes of my life; for the dewtie I owe, and love I beare, both to trewe doctrine, and honeſt living, though I have no authoritie to amend the ſore myſelfe, yet I will declare my good will, to diſcover the ſore to others.

Italian bookes tranſlated into Engliſhe.

St. *Paul* ſaith, "that ſects and ill opinions be the workes of the "fleſh, and fruites of ſinne." This is ſpoken no more trewlie for the doctrine, than ſenſible for the reaſon. And why? "For ill doinges "breed ill thinkinges; and of corrupted maners, ſpryng perverted "judgementes." And how? There be in man two ſpeciall thinges; mans will, mans mynde. Where will inclineth to goodneſs, the mynde

Epiſt. ad Gal. v. 19.

Voluntas reſpicit bonum.

Mens reſpicit verum.

is

is bent to troth: where will is carried from goodnes to vanitie, the minde is ſone drawn from troth to falſe opinion. And ſo, the readieſt way to entangle the mynde with falſe doctrine, is firſt to intice the will to wanton livyng. Therefore, when the buſie and open Papiſtes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in *Englande* faſt enough from troth and right judgement in doctrine, then the ſubtle and ſecrete Papiſtes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be tranſlated out of the *Italian* tonge, whereby over many young willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all ſevere bookes that ſounde to honeſtie and godlines.

In our forefathers tyme, when papiſtrie, as a ſtandyng poole, covered and overflowed all *Englande*, fewe bookes were read in our tonge, ſavyng certaine bookes of chevalrie, as they ſaid for paſtime and pleaſure; which, as ſome ſay,* were made in monaſteries by idle monks, or wanton chanons. As one for example, † *La Morte d'Arthure*; the whole pleaſure of which booke ſtandeth in two ſpeciall poyntes, in open manſlaughter, and bold bawdrye: in which booke they be counted the nobleſt knightes that do kill moſt men without any quarrell, and commit fowleſt adoulteries by ſutleſt ſhiftes; as Sir *Launcelote*, with the wife of king *Arthure* his maſter; Sir *Triſtram*, with the wife of king *Marke* his uncle; Sir *Lamerocke*, with the wife of king *Lote*, that was his own aunte. This is good ſtuffe for wiſe men to laughe at, or honeſt men to take pleaſure at: yet I know, when Gods Bible was baniſhed the court, and *La Morte d'Arthure* received into the princes chamber.

La Morte d'Arthure.

* He hath much the ſame in his preface to his *Toxophilus*. "In our fathers time, nothinge "was read but bookes of fayned chivalrie; wherein a man by reading ſhould be led to none "other end, but only to manſlaughter and bawdrye. If any man ſuppoſe they were good "enough to paſſe the time withall, he is deceived. For ſurely vain wordes do work no ſmall "thinge in vaine, ignorant, and young minds, eſpecially if they be given any thinge thereunto "of their own nature. Theſe bookes, as I have heard ſay, were made the moſt part in ab-"beys and monaſteries: a very likely and fit fruite of ſuch an idle and blind kind of living." See *Huetius de Origine Fabularum Romanenſium.*

† *La Mort d'Arthure:* ſo the book is intitled, tho' it treats of the birth, life, and acts of the ſaid King *Arthure*, and of his noble knights of the Round Table, and their marvailous conqueſts and adventures. I find it was reprinted at *London* in 1634.

What

What toyes the dayly readyng of ſuch a booke may worke in the will of a yong jenleman, or a yong mayde, that liveth welthelie and idlelie, wiſe men can judge, and honeſt men do pitie. And yet ten *La Morte d'Arthures* do not the tenth parte ſo much harme, as one of theſe bookes made in *Italie*, and tranſlated in *Englande*. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but ſuch ſutle, cunnyng, new, and diverſe ſhiftes, to carry yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to miſchief, to teach old bawdes new ſchole poyntes, as the ſimple head of an *Engliſhman* is not hable to invent, nor never was heard of in *Englande* before, yea when papiſtrie overflowed all. Suffer theſe bookes to be read, and they ſhall ſoone diſplace all bookes of godly learning. " For they, carrying the will to vanitie, and marryng good maners, " ſhall eaſily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions, and falſe judgement " in doctrine; firſt, to think ill of all trewe religion, and at laſt to " thinke nothing of God hymſelfe: one ſpeciall pointe that is to be " learned in *Italie*, and *Italian* bookes." And that which is moſt to be lamented, and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of theſe ungratious bookes ſet out in printe within theſe fewe monethes, than have been ſene in *Englande* many ſcore yeares before. And bicauſe our *Engliſhmen* made *Italians* cannot hurt but certaine perſons, and in certaine places, therefore theſe *Italian* bookes are made *Engliſhe*, to bryng miſchief enough openly and boldly, to all ſtates, great and meane, yong and old, every where.

And thus you ſee, how will intiſed to wantonnes, doth eaſilie allure the mynde to falſe opinions; and how corrupt maners in livinge, breede falſe judgement in doctrine; how ſinne and fleſhlines bring forth ſectes and hereſies: and therefore ſuffer not vaine bookes to breede vanitie in mens willes, if you would have Goddes trothe take roote in mens myndes.

The Italian proverbe expounded.

That *Italian*, that firſt invented the *Italian* proverbe againſt our *Engliſhmen* Italianated, ment no more their vanitie in livyng, than their lewd opinion in religion. For in calling them deviles, he carrieth them cleane from God; and yet he carrieth them no farder, than they willinglie go themſelves; that is, where they may freely ſay their mindes

to the open contempte of God, and all godlineſs, both in living and doctrine.

And how? I will expreſſe how; not by a fable of *Homere*, nor by the philoſophie of *Plato*, but by a plaine troth of Goddes worde, ſenſiblie uttered by *David* thus: thies men, *abominabiles facti in ſtudiis ſuis*, thinke verilie and ſinge gladlie the verſe before, *Dixit inſipiens in corde* Pſal. xiv. 1. *ſuo, non eſt Deus:* that is to ſay, they giving themſelves up to vanitie, ſhakinge of the motions of grace, driving from them the feare of God, and running headlong into all ſinne, firſt luſtelie contemn God, then ſcornfullie mocke his worde, and alſo ſpitefullie hate and hurte all well willers thereof. "Then they have in more reverence the triumphes "of *Petrarche*, than the Geneſis of *Moſes*; they make more accounte "of *Tullies* Offices, than of St. *Paules* epiſtles; of a tale in *Bocace*, than "a ſtorie of the Bible. Then they counte as fables, the holie miſte-"ries of chriſtian religion. They make Chriſt and his Goſpell onlie "ſerve civill pollicie." Then neyther religion cometh amiſſe to them. In tyme they be promoters of both openlie; in place againe mockers of both privilie, as I wrote once in a rude ryme:

Now new, now olde, now both, now neither;
To ſerve the worldes courſe, they care not with whether.

For where they dare, in companie where they like, they boldlie laugh to ſcorne both Proteſtant and Papiſt. They care for no Scripture; they make no counte of generall councels; they contemne the conſent of the church; they paſs for no doctores; they mock the Pope, they raile on *Luther*; they allow neyther ſide; they like none, but onelie themſelves. The marke they ſhote at, the ende they looke for, the heaven they deſire, is onelie their own preſent pleaſure, and private profite; whereby they plainlie declare of whoſe ſchole, of what religion they be; that is, "Epicures in living, and Ἄθεοι in doctrine." This laſt worde is no more unknowne now to plaine *Engliſhmen*, than the perſon was unknowne ſome tyme in *Englande*, untill ſome *Engliſhman* took paines to fetche that deviliſhe opinion out of *Italie*. Thies men thus Italianated abroad, cannot abide our godlie *Italian* church at home; they be not of

The Italian church in London.

that pariſh; they be not of that felowſhip; they like not that preacher; they heare not his ſermons, exeepte ſomtymes for companie; they come thither to hear the *Italian* tonge naturally ſpoken, not to heare Gods doctrine trewly preached.

And yet thies men, in matters of divinitie, openlie pretend a great knowledge, and have privatelie to themſelves a very compendious underſtanding of all; which nevertheleſs they will utter, when and where they liſte: and that is this; All the miſteries of *Moſes*, the whole lawe and ceremonies, the Pſalmes and prophets; Chriſt and his Goſpell, God and the Devil, heaven and hell, faith, conſcience, ſinne, death, and all, they ſhortlie wrap up, they quicklie expounde, with this one half verſe of *Horace*;

——— *Credat Judæus Apella.* Lib. 1. ſat. 5.

Yet though in *Italie* they may freely be of no religion, as they are in *Englande* in verie deede to; nevertheleſs returning home into *Englande*, they muſt countenance the profeſſion of the one or the other, howſoever inwardlie they laugh to ſcorne both. And though, for their private matters, they can follow, fawne, and flatter noble perſonages, contrarie to them in all reſpects; yet commonlie they allie themſelves with the worſt Papiſtes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree together in three proper opinions; in open contempte of Goddes worde, in a ſecret ſecuritie of ſinne, and in a bloodie deſire to have all taken awaie by ſword, or burninge, that be not of their faction. They that do read with an indifferent judgement * *Pighius*, and *Machiavel*, two indifferent patriarches of thies two religions, do know full well that I ſay trewe.

Papiſtrie and impiety agree in three opinions.

Pighius.

Machiavelus.

Ye ſee what manners and doctrine our *Engliſhmen* fetch out of *Italie*: for finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And there-

* *Albertus Pighius*, a famous champion for the *Romiſh* cauſe, and one of *Luther*'s antagoniſts. "Meminerit Cardinalem Campegium, Albertum Pighium, alioſque complures ſuos "docuiſſe, ſacerdotem illum multò ſanctius & caſtius vivere, qui alat concubinam, quàm "qui uxorem habeat in matrimonio." *Jud. i Apol.*

Wife and honeſt travellers. Germanie.

fore manie godlie and excellent learned *Engliſhmen*, not manie yeares ago, did make a better choice; when open crueltie drave them out of this contrie, to place themſelves there, where Chriſtes doctrine, the feare of God, puniſhment of ſinne, and diſcipline of honeſtie, were had in ſpecial regard.

Venice. London.

I was once in *Italie* myſelfe; but I thanke God, my abode there was but nine dayes; and yet I ſawe in that litle tyme, in one citie, more libertie to ſinne, than ever I heard tell of in our noble citie of *London* in nine yeare. I ſawe, it was there as free to ſinne, not onelie without all puniſhment, but alſo without any mans marking, as it is free in the citie of *London*, to choſe without all blame, whether a man luſt to weare ſhoo, or pantocle. And good cauſe why: for being unlike in troth of religion, they muſt nedes be unlike in honeſtie of living. For, bleſſed be Chriſt, in our citie of *London*, commonlie the commandementes of God be more diligentlie taught, and the ſervice of God more reverentlie uſed, and that daylie in many private mens houſes, than they be in *Italie* once a weeke in their common churches; where maſking ceremonies, to delite the eye, and vaine ſoundes, to pleaſe the eare, do quite thruſt out of the churches all ſervice of God in ſpirit and troth. Yea, the lord maior of *London*, being but a civill officer, is commonlie for his tyme, more diligent in puniſhing ſinne, the bent enemie againſt God and good order, than all the bloodie inquiſitors in *Italie* be in ſeven yeare. For their care and charge is, not to puniſhe ſinne, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but onlie to watch and overſee that Chriſtes trewe religion ſet no ſure footing, where the Pope hath anie juriſdiction.

Service of God in Englande. Service of God in Italie. The lord maior of London. The inquiſitors in Italie.

An ungodlie pollicie.

I learned, when I was at *Venice*, that there it is counted good pollicie, when there be four or five bretheren of one familie, one onelie to marrie, and all the reſt, to waulter, with as little ſhame, in open lecherie, as ſwyne do here in the common myre. Yea, there be as fayre houſes of religion, as great proviſion, as diligent officers, to kepe up this miſorder, as *Bridewell* is, and all the maſters there, to kepe downe miſorder.

order. And therefore, * if the Pope himſelfe do not onelie grant pardons to furder thies wicked purpoſes abrode in *Italie*, but alſo (although this preſent Pope, in the beginning, made ſome ſhewe of miſliking thereof) aſſigne both meede and merite to the maintenance of ſtewes and brothel houſes at home in *Rome*; then let wiſe men thinke *Italie* a ſafe place for holſome doctrine, and godlie manners, and a fitte ſchole for yong jentlemen of *Englande* to be brought up in.

Our *Italians* bring home with them other faultes from *Italie*, though not ſo greate as this of religion; yet a great deal greater than many good men can well beare. For commonlie they come home, common contemners of mariage, and readie perſuaders of all others to the ſame; not becauſe they love virginitie, nor yet becauſe they hate prettie yong virgines, but being free in *Italie* to go whither ſo ever luſt will carry them, they do not like, that lawe and honeſtie ſhould be ſoch a barre to their libertie at home in *Englande*. And yet they be the greateſt makers of love, the daylie dalliers with ſuch pleaſant wordes, with ſuch ſmilyng and ſecret countenances, with ſuch ſignes, tokens, wagers, purpoſed to be loſt, before they were purpoſed to be made, with bargains of wearing colours, floures, and herbes, to breede occaſion of ofter meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that, *&c.* And although I have ſeene ſome, innocent of all ill, and ſtayde in all honeſtie, that have uſed theſe things without all harme, without all ſuſpicion of harme; yet theſe knacks were brought firſt into *Englande* by them, that learned them before in *Italie* in *Circes* court; and how courtlie courteſies ſo ever they be counted now, yet if the meaning and manners of ſome that do uſe them, were ſomewhat amended, it were no great hurt, neither to themſelves, nor to others.

Contempt of mariage.

Another propertie of thies our *Engliſh Italians* is, to be marvelous ſingular in all their matters; ſingular in knowledge, ignorant of nothing; ſo ſingular in wiſdome (in their owne opinion) as ſcarce they count the beſt councellor the prince hath, comparable with them: common diſ-

* Nondum ille, ſpero, oblitus eſt, multa eſſe Romæ publicarum meretricum millia, & ſe ex illis in ſingulos annos, vectigalis nomine, colligere ad triginta millia ducatorum. Obliviſci non poteſt, ſe Romæ Lenocinium publicè exercere, & defædiſſima mercede fæde ac nequiter delitiari. *Judli Apol.*

courſers of all matters, buſie ſearchers of moſt ſecret affaires, open flatterers of great men, privie miſlikers of good men, faire ſpeakers with ſmiling countenances, and much courteſie openlie to all men; ready backbiters, ſore nippers, and ſpitefull reporters privilie of good men. And beyng brought up in *Italie* in ſome free citie, as all cities be there; where a man may freely diſcourſe againſt what he will, againſt whom he luſt, againſt any prince, agaynſt any government, yea againſt God himſelfe, and his whole religion; where he muſt be either * *Guelphe* or *Gibiline*; either *French* or *Spaniſh*; and alwayes compelled to be of ſome partie, of ſome faction, he ſhall never be compelled to be of any religion. And if he meddle not over much with Chriſtes true religion, he ſhall have free libertie to embrace all religions, and become if he luſt, at once, without any let or puniſhment, *Jewiſh*, *Turkiſh*, Papiſh, and Devilliſh.

A yong jentleman, thus bred up in this goodly ſchole, to learne the next and readie way to ſinne, to have a buſie head, a factious heart, a talkative tonge, fed with diſcourſing of factions, led to contemne God and his religion, ſhall come home into *Englande* but verie ill taught, either to be an honeſt man hymſelfe, a quiet ſubject to his prince, or willyng to ſerve God, under the obedience of trewe doctrine, or within the order of honeſt living.

I know, none will be offended with this my generall writing, but onelie ſuch, as finde themſelves guiltie privately therein; who ſhall have good leave to be offended with me, untill they begin to amende themſelves. I touch not them that be good; and I ſay to litle of them that be naught. And ſo, though not enough for their deſerving, yet ſufficientlie for this time, and more els-when, if occaſion ſo require.

And thus farre have I wandered from my firſt purpoſe of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, bicauſe this whole taulke hath tended to the onelie advauncement of trothe in religion, and

* Two factions in *Italy*, which their hiſtorians frequently mention. See *Machiavel*'s account of their original.

honeſtie of living; and hath bene whollie within the compaſſe of learnyng and good manners, the ſpeciall pointes belonging to the right brynging up of youth.

But to my matter: as I began plainlie and ſimplie with my yong ſcholer, ſo will I not leave him, God willing, untill I have brought him a perfite ſcholer out of the ſchole, and placed him in the univerſitie, to become a fitte ſtudent for logicke and rhetoricke; and ſo after to phyſicke, law, or divinitie, as aptnes of nature, adviſe of frendes, and Gods diſpoſition ſhall lead him.

The Ende of the FIRST BOOKE.

THE

THE

SECOND BOOKE.

Teachyng the ready Way

To the LATIN TONGE.

AFTER that your ſcholer, as I ſayd before, ſhall come indeede, firſt to a readie perfitnes in tranſlating, then to a ripe and ſkilfull choice in marking out hys ſixe pointes; as,

1. *Proprium.*
2. *Tranſlatum.*
3. *Synonymum.*
4. *Contrarium.*
5. *Diverſum.*
6. *Phraſes.*

Then take this order with him: Read dayly unto him ſome booke of *Tullie*; as the third booke of epiſtles choſen out by *Sturmius*; *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, or that excellent epiſtle, containyng almoſt the whole firſt booke, *ad Q. Fratrem*; ſome comedie of *Terence*, or *Plautus*. But in *Plautus*, ſkilfull choice muſt be uſed by the maſter, to traine his ſcholer to a judgment, in cutting out perfitelie over old and unproper wordes. *Cæſars Commentaries* are to be read with all curioſitie, wherein ſpecially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is ſeene the unſpotted proprietie of the *Latin* tonge, even when it was, as the *Grecians* ſay, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the higheſt pitch of all perfiteneſſe; or ſome orations of *T. Livius*, ſuch as be both longeſt and plaineſt.

Cicero.

Terentius. Plautus.

Jul. Cæſar.

T. Livius.

Theſe bookes I would have him read now a good deale at every lecture; for he ſhall not now uſe dailie tranſlation, but only conſtrue againe, and parſe, where ye ſuſpect is any nede: yet let him not omitte in theſe bookes his former exerciſe, in marking diligentlie, and writyng orderlie out his ſix pointes: and for tranſlating, uſe you yourſelfe, every

ſecond or thyrd day, to choſe out ſome epiſtle *ad Atticum*; ſome notable common place out of his orations, or ſome other part of *Tullie*, by your diſcretion, which your ſcholer may not know where to find; and tranſlate it you your ſelfe, into plaine naturall *Engliſh*; and then give it him to tranſlate into *Latin* againe, allowyng him good ſpace and tyme, to do it both with diligent heede, and good adviſement.

Here his witte ſhal be new ſet on worke; his judgement, for right choice, trewlie tried; his memorie, for ſure reteyning, better exerciſed, than by learnyng any thing without the booke; and here, how much he hath profited, ſhall plainlie appeare. When he bringeth it tranſlated unto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice, and right placing of wordes; ſhew his faultes jently, but blame them not over ſharply; for of ſuch miſſings, jentlie admoniſhed of, proceedeth glad and good heed taking; of good heed taking, ſpringeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfitneſſe, if this order be diligentlie uſed by the ſcholer, and jently handled by the maſter. For here ſhall all the hard pointes of grammar, both eaſelie and ſurelie be learned up; which ſcholers in common ſcholes, by making of *Latines*, be groping at, with care and feare, and yet in many yeares they ſcarce can reach unto them.

I remember, when I was yong, in the North they went to the grammar ſchole little children; they came from thence great lubbers, alwayes learnyng, and little profiting; learnyng without booke, every thing, underſtanding within the booke little or nothing. Their whole knowledge, by learnyng without the booke, was tied only to their tonge and lips, and never aſcended up to the brain and head; and therefore was ſone ſpitte out of the mouth againe. They were as men alwayes going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour, or rather great toile without order, was even vaine idleneſſe without profit. Indeede they took great paynes about learnyng, but employed ſmall labour in learnyng; when by this way preſcribed in this booke, being ſtraight, plaine, and eaſie, the ſcholer is alwayes laboring with pleaſure, and ever going right on forward with proffit. Alwayes laboring I ſay; for, or he have conſtrued, parced, twiſe tranſlated

lated over by good adviſement, marked out his ſix pointes by ſkilfull judgement, he ſhall have neceſſary occaſion, to read over every lecture a dozen tymes at the leaſt. Which becauſe he ſhall do alwayes in order, he ſhall do it alwayes with pleaſure: "and pleaſure allureth love, "love hath luſt to labor, labor alwayes obtaineth his purpoſe;" as moſt trewly both *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetoricke, and *Oedipus* * in *Sophocles* do teach, ſaying, πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπονούμενον ἅλισκε, *&c.* And this oft reading, is the verie right following of that good counſell, † which *Plinie* doth give to his frende *Fuſcus*, ſaying, *Multum, non multa.* But to my purpoſe againe. Rhet. 2. In Oedip. Tyr. Lib. 7. ep. 9.

When by this diligent and ſpedie reading over thoſe forenamed good bookes of *Tullie*, *Terence*, *Cæſar*, and *Livie*, and by this ſecond kinde of tranſlating out of your *Engliſh*, tyme ſhall breede ſkill, and uſe ſhall bring perfection: then ye may trie, if ye will, your ſcholer with the third kinde of tranſlation: although the two firſt wayes, by mine opinion, be not onlie ſufficient of themſelves, but alſo ſurer, both for the maſters teaching, and ſcholers learnyng, than this third way is; which is thus:

Write you in *Engliſh* ſome letter, as it were from him to his father, or to ſome other frende, naturallie, according to the diſpoſition of the child; or ſome tale, or fable, or plane narration, according as *Aphthonius* beginneth his exerciſes of learnyng; and let him tranſlate it into *Latin* againe, abiding in ſoch place where no other ſcholer may prompt him. But yet, uſe you your ſelfe ſoch diſcretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and ſentences, of his former learnyng and reading. And now take heede, leſt your

* What paſſage he means in *Sophocles*, I know not. The following ſentence *Creon* ſpeaks to *Oedipus*, after his return from the oracle:

——— Τὸ δὲ ζητέμενον
Ἅλωτὸν, ἐκφευγει δὲ τἀμελέμενον.

There is nothing elſe in that excellent play that has the leaſt relation hereunto.

† The ſentence in *Pliny*'s epiſtles here referred to, is this: "Tu memineris, ſui cujuſque "generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim, *multùm legendum eſſe, non multa.*"

ſcholer do not better in ſome point than you yourſelfe, except ye have bene diligentlie exerciſed in theſe kindes of tranſlating before.

I had once a profe hereof, tried by good experience, by a deare frende of myne, when I came firſt from *Cambrige* to ſerve the queens majeſtie, than ladie *Elizabeth*, lying at worthie Syr *Antony Denys* in *Cheſton*. *John Whitney*, a yong jentleman, was my bed felloe; who willyng by good nature, and provoked by mine adviſe, began to learn the *Latin* tonge after the order declared in this booke. We began after *Chriſtmas:* I read unto him *Tullie de Amicitia*, which he did every day twiſe tranſlate, out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, and out of *Engliſh* into *Latin* againe. About *St. Laurence* tide after, to prove how he profitted, I did choſe out *Torquatus* taulke *de Amicitia*, in the later end of the firſt booke *de Finibus*; bicauſe that place was the ſame in matter, like in wordes and phraſes, nigh to the form and facion of ſentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitia*. I did tranſlate it myſelfe into plaine *Engliſh*, and gave it him to turn into *Latin*; which he did ſo choiſlie, ſo orderlie, ſo without any great miſſe in the hardeſt pointes of grammar, that ſome, in ſeven yeare in grammar ſcholes, yea, and ſome in the univerſities to, cannot do halfe ſo well. This worthie yong jentleman, to my greateſt grief, to the great lamentation of that whole houſe, and ſpeciallie to that noble ladie, now queene *Elizabeth* herſelfe, departed within few days out of this world.

And if in any cauſe, a man may without offence to God ſpeake ſomewhat ungodlie, ſurely it was ſome grief unto me, to ſee him hie ſo haſtelie to God, as he did. A court, full of ſoch yong gentlemen, were rather a Paradiſe than a court upon earth. And though I had never poeticall head, to make any verſe in any tonge; yet either love, or ſorow, or both, did wring out of me then, certaine careful thoughtes of my good will towards him; which in my mourning for him, fell forth more by chance, than either by ſkill or uſe, into this kinde of miſorderlie meter.

Myne own John Whitney, *now farewell, now death doth parte us twaine:*
No death, but partyng for a while, whom life ſhall joyne agayne.

Therefore my heart ceaſe ſighes and ſobbes, ceaſe ſorowes ſeede to ſow;
Whereof no gaine, but greater grief, and hurtfull care may grow.
Yet when I thinke upon ſoch giftes of grace, as God him lent,
My loſſe, his gaine, I muſt a while, with joyfull teares lament.
Yong yeares to yielde ſoch frute in court, where ſeede of vice is ſowne,
Is ſome time read, in ſome place ſeene, amongſt us ſeldome knowne.
His life he ledde, Chriſtes lore to learne, with will to worke the ſame;
He read to know, and knew to live, and liv'd to praiſe his name.
So faſt a frende, ſo foe to few, ſo good to every wight,
I may well wiſhe, but ſcarcelie hope, againe to have in ſight.
The greater joye his life to me, his death the greater payne:
His life in Chriſt ſo ſurelie ſet, doth glad my harte againe:
His life ſo good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care,
My ſpirit with joye, my fleſh with grief, ſo deare a frend to ſpare.
Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leave us ill,
That we ſhould mend our ſinfull life, in life to tary ſtill.
Thus we well left, he better reft, in heaven to take his place,
That by like life, and death, at laſt, we may obtaine like grace.
Myne owne John Whitney, *agayne farewell, a while thus parte in twaine;*
Whom payne doth part in earth, in heaven great joye ſhall joyne agayne.

In this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare, by whoſe authoritie I am led, and by what reaſon I am moved, to thinke, that this way of double tranſlation out of one tonge into another, in either onelie, or at leaſt chiefly to be exerciſed, ſpeciallie of youth, for the ready and ſure obtaining of any tonge.

There be ſix wayes appointed by the beſt learned men, for the learnyng of tonges, and encreaſe of eloquence; as,

1. *Tranſlatio linguarum.*
2. *Paraphraſis.*
3. *Metaphraſis.*
4. *Epitome.*
5. *Imitatio.*
6. *Declamatio.*

All theis be uſed, and commended, but in order, and for reſpectes, as perſon, habilitie, place, and tyme ſhall require. The five laſt be fitter for the maſter than the ſcholer; for men, than for children; for the univerſities, rather than for grammar ſcholes. Yet never the leſſe, which is fitteſt in mine opinion for our ſchole, and which is either wholie to be refuſed, or partlie to be uſed for our purpoſe; I will, by good authoritie, and ſome reaſon I truſt, particularlie of everie one, and largelie enough of them all, declare orderlie unto you.

Translatio Linguarum.

Tranſlation is eaſie in the beginning for the ſcholer, and bringeth alſo moch learning and great judgement to the maſter. It is moſt common, and moſt commendable of all other exerciſes for youth: moſt common; for all your conſtructions in grammar ſcholes, be nothing els but tranſlations: but becauſe they be not double tranſlations, as I do require, they bring forth but ſimple and ſingle commoditie; and becauſe alſo they lacke the daily uſe of writing, which is the onely thing that breedeth deepe roote, both in the witte, for good underſtanding, and in the memorie, for ſure keeping of all that is learned: moſt commendable alſo, and that by the judgement of all authors, which intreate of theis exerciſes. *Tullie* in the perſon of *L. Craſſus*, (whom he maketh his example of eloquence and trewe judgement in learnyng) doth not onely praiſe ſpecially, and choſe this way of tranſlation for a yong man; but doth alſo * diſcommend and refuſe his owne former wonte, in exerciſing *Paraphraſin, & Metaphraſin. Paraphraſis* is, to take ſome eloquent oration, or ſome notable common place in *Latin*, and expreſſe it with other wordes: *Metaphraſis* is, to take ſome notable place out of a good poete, and turn the ſame ſenſe into meter, or into other wordes in proſe. *Craſſus*, or rather *Tullie*, doth miſlike both theſe wayes; bicauſe the author, either orator or poete, had choſen out before the fitteſt wordes, and apteſt compoſition for that matter; and ſo he, in ſeeking other, was driven to uſe the worſe.

De Orat. lib. 1.

* Theſe are *Craſſus*'s reaſons againſt this ſort of exerciſe: "Sed pòſt animadverti, hoc eſſe "in hoc vitii, quòd ea verba, quæ maximè cujuſque rei propria, quæque eſſent ornatiſſima "atque optimà, occupaſſet aut Ennius, ſi ad ejus verſus me exercerem, aut Gracchus, ſi ejus "orationem mihi fortè propoſuiſſem: ita, ſi iiſdem verbis uterer, nihil prodeſſe; ſi aliis, "etiam obeſſe, cùm minus idoneis uti conſueſcerem." *De Orat. lib.* 1.

Quintilian alſo preferreth tranſlation * before all other exerciſes; yet having a luſt to diſſent from *Tullie* (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetoricke over adviſedlie; and that rather of an envious minde, than of any juſt cauſe) doth greatlie commend *Paraphraſis*, † croſſing ſpitefullie *Tullies* judgement in refuſing the ſame: and ſo do *Ramus* and *Talæus* even at this day in *France* to. But ſuch ſingularitie in diſſenting from the beſt mens judgementes, in liking onelie their owne opinions, is moch miſliked of all them, that joyne with learnyng, diſcretion and wiſdome. For he, that can neither like *Ariſtotle* in logicke and philoſophie, nor *Tullie* in rhetoricke and eloquence, will, from theſe ſteppes, likelie enough, preſume by like pride, to mount hier, to the miſliking of greater matters; that is, either in religion, to have a diſſentious head, or in the common wealth, to have a factious hart: as I knew one, a ſtudent in *Cambrige*, who, for a ſingularitie, began firſt to diſſent in the ſcholes from *Ariſtotle*, and ſone after became a perverſe *Arian*, againſt Chriſt and all trewe religion; and ſtudied diligentlie *Origene*, *Baſilius*, and *S. Hierome*, onelie to gleane out of their workes, the pernicious hereſies of *Celſus*, *Eunomius*, and *Helvidius*, whereby the church of Chriſt was ſo poyſoned withall.

Quintil. de Inſtit. Orat. lib. x.

But to leave theſe hye pointes of divinitie: ſurelie in this quiete and harmleſs controverſie, for the liking or miſliking of *Paraphraſis* for a yong ſcholer; even as far as *Tullie* goeth beyond *Quintilian*, *Ramus*, and *Talæus*, in perfect eloquence, even ſo moch, by mine opinion, come they beyonde *Tullie*, for trewe judgement in teaching the ſame.

Plinius Secundus, a wiſe ſenator of great experience, excellentlie learned himſelfe, ‡ a liberall patrone of learned men, and the pureſt writer,

* *Quintilian* does not ſeem heartily to recommend this way of tranſlating out of *Greek* into *Latin*; but rather gives us the opinion and judgment of the old orators about it, adding, that it was much practiſed by *Craſſus*, *Cicero*, and *Meſſala*. His words are, "Vertere Græca in "Latinum veteres noſtri oratores optimum judicabant."

† "Sed & illa ex Latinis converſio, multùm & ipſa contulerit. —— ——Ideóque ab illis "diſſentio, qui vertere orationes Latinas vetant, quia optimis occupatis, quicquid aliter dixe- "rimus, neceſſe ſit eſſe deterius. Nam neque ſemper eſt deſperandum, aliquid illis, quæ "dicta ſunt, melius poſſe reperiri; neque adeò jejunam ac pauperem natura eloquentiam "fecit, ut una de re benè dici, niſi ſemel non poſſit." *De Inſtit. Orat. lib.* 10.

‡ He writes thus to *Quintilian*, being about to marry his daughter to *Nonius Celer*: "Par- "tem oneris tui mihi vindico, et tanquam parens alter puellæ noſtræ, confero quinquaginta "millia

Plinius Secundus dedit Quintiliano præceptori ſuo, in matrimonium filiæ, 50000 nummos. Epiſt. lib. 6. ep. 31.

writer, in myne opinion, of all his age † (I except not *Suetonius*, his two ſcholemaſters *Quintilian* and *Tacitus*, nor yet his moſt excellent learned uncle, the elder *Plinius)* doth expreſſe in an epiſtle to his frende *Fuſcus*, many good wayes for order in ſtudie; but he beginneth with tranſlation, and preferreth it to all the reſt. And bicauſe * his wordes be not able, I will recite them.

Utile in primis, ut multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, & ex Latino vertere in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis, proprietas ſplendorque verborum, apta ſtructura ſententiarum, figurarum copia & explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea, imitatione optimorum, facultas ſimilia inveniendi paratur: & quæ legentem, fefelliſſent, transferentem fugere non poſſunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, & judicium acquiritur.

Ye perceive how *Plinie* teacheth, that by this exerciſe of double tranſlating, is learned eaſely, ſenſiblie, by little and little, not onelie all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of apteſt wordes, the right framing of wordes and ſentences, comlines of figures, and formes fitte for everie matter, and proper for everie tonge: but that which is greater alſo, in marking dayly, and folowing diligentlie thus the ſteppes

" millia nummûm; plus collaturus, niſi à verecundia tuâ ſola mediocritate munuſculi, im-
" petrari poſſe confidcrem, ne recuſares." *Epiſt. lib.* 6.

† Many have condemned the whole age wherein *Pliny* wrote. " Optaret alius, ut orato-
" rem Plinium ſaperem, quod hujus et maturitas et diſciplina laudatur. Ego contra totum
" illud aſpernari me dicam Plinii ſeculum." *Angelus Politianus*, *epiſt.* 1.

* There is ſo great a difference in this citation out of *Pliny* from the printed copies, that I'm ſatisfied Mr. *Aſcham* (as I have obſerv'd before) truſted to his memory only, without ever looking into his author. This will appear plain enough to any one, that ſhall compare this paſſage, as it ſtands here, with *Pliny*'s text, which I ſhall give the reader out of *Boxhornius*'s edition, printed by *Elzevir*.

" Utile imprimis, & multi præcipiunt, vel ex Græco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere
" in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis proprietas ſplendorque verborum, copia figurarum,
" vis explicandi; præterea imitatione optimorum ſimilia inveniendi facultas paratur: ſimul
" q æ legentem fefelliſſent, transferentem fugere non poſſunt. Intell gentia ex hoc & judi-
" cium acquiritur." *Lib.* 7.

Now leſt any ſhou'd wonder at this ſtrange inaccuracy (for ſo it ſeems to be) in a perſon of Mr. *Aſcham*'s learning and judgment; I ſhall tranſcribe what *Caſaubon*, in his notes on *Theocritus*, has remark'd on the like occaſion. " Veterum grammaticorum mos eſt in proferendis
" auctorum locis, id unicum, cujus gratia eos laudant, ſpectare, neglecta interim ſententia.
" Ex eo eſt, quòd multa ſæpè apud eos aliter ſcripta inveniuntur, quàm in ipſis auctoribus
" habentur."

of

of the beſt authors, like invention of argumentes, like order in diſpoſition, like utterance in elocution, is eaſilie gathered up; whereby your ſcholer ſhall be brought not onlie to like eloquence, but alſo, to all trewe underſtanding, and right judgement, both for writing and ſpeaking.

And where *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* hath written two excellent bookes, the * one *de Delectu optimorum Verborum*, (the which, I feare, is loſt) the other, of the right framing of wordes and ſentences, which doth remaine yet in *Greeke*, to the great profit of all them that trewlie ſtudie for eloquence: yet this waie of double tranſlating, ſhall bring the whole proffet of both theſe bookes to a diligent ſcholer, and that eaſelie and pleaſantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt compoſition of ſentences.

And by theis authorities and reaſons, am I moved to thinke this waie of double tranſlating, either onelie, or chieflie, to be fitteſt for the ſpeedy and perfit attayning of any tonge. And for ſpeedy atteyning, I durſt venture a good wager, if a ſcholer, in whom is aptnes, love, diligence, and conſtancie, would but tranſlate, after this ſorte, one little booke in *Tullie*, (as *de Senectute*, with two epiſtles, the firſt *ad Q. fratrem*, the other *ad Lentulum*, the laſt ſave one in the firſt booke) that ſcholer, I ſay, ſhould come to a better knowledge in the *Latin* tonge, than the moſt part do, that ſpend foure or five yeares in toſſing all the rules of grammar in common ſcholes. Indeede this one booke, with theſe two epiſtles, is not ſufficient to affourde all *Latin* wordes, (which is not neceſſary for a young ſcholer to know) but it is able to furniſhe him fully, for all pointes of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and uſe of wordes, in all kinde of matter. And why not? For it is read, that *Dion Pruæſſus*, that wiſe philoſopher, and excellent ora-

* *Dionyſius*, in the beginning of his excellent treatiſe περὶ Συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, acquaints young *Rufus Melitius*, he deſigned him another preſent the year following, on his next enſuing birth-day; which ſhould be a treatiſe, concerning *the right choice of words*. But whether he ever performed what he there promiſes, is uncertain. Ἐαν δὲ ἐγγένηταί μοι σχολὴ, κἀ περὶ τῆς Ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑτέραν ἐξοίσω σοι γραφὴν, ἵνα τὸν Λεκτικον τόπον τελείως ἐξειργασμένον ἔχῃς. ἐκείνην μὲν ὃν τὴν πραγμαλείαν εἰς νέωλα πάλιν ὥραις ταῖς αὐταῖς προσδίχε.

tour

tour * of all his tyme, did come to the great learnyng and utterance that was in him, by reading and following onlie two bookes, *Phædon Platonis*, and *Demoſthenes* moſt notable oration, περὶ Παραπρεσβείας.

And a better and nearer example herein may be, our moſt noble queen *Elizabeth*, who never toke yet *Greeke* nor *Latin* grammar in her hand, after the firſt declining of a nowne and a verbe; but only by this double tranſlating of *Demoſthenes* and *Iſocrates* dailie, without miſſing every forenone, and likewiſe ſome part of *Tullie* every afternone, for the ſpace of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to ſoch a perfit underſtanding in both the tonges, and to ſuch a readie utterance of the *Latin*, and that with ſuch a judgement, † as they be fewe in nomber in both the univerſities, or els where in *Englande*, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her majeſtie. And to conclude in a ſhort rowme the commodities of double tranſlation; ſurelie the minde by dailie marking, firſt, the cauſe and matter; then the wordes and phraſes; next, the order and compoſition; after, the reaſon and argumentes; then the formes and figures of both the tonges; laſtlie, the meaſure and compas of everie ſentence, muſt needes, by little and little, draw unto it the like ſhape of eloquence, as the author doth uſe, which is read. And thus much for double tranſlation.

Paraphrasis.

Paraphraſis, the ſecond point, is not onelie ‡ to expreſſe at large with more wordes, but to ſtrive and contend (as *Quintilian* ſayth) to tranſlate the beſt *Latin* authors into other *Latin* wordes, as many, or thereaboute. De Inſtit. Orat. lib. x.

This waie of exerciſe ‖ was uſed firſt by *C. Carbo*, and taken up for a while by *L. Craſſus*, but ſone after, upon due profe thereof, rejected juſtlie

* He lived in *Trajan*'s time, and in great favour and eſteem with the Emperor.

† See the character Sir *Henry Savil* gives of this incomparable queen, in his oration printed at the end of this book.

‡ "Neque ego Παράφρασιν eſſe interpretationem tantum volo, ſed circa eoſdem ſenſus "certamen atque æmulationem." *Quintil.*

‖ "In quotidianis autem cogitationibus equidem mihi adoleſcentulus proponere ſolebam "illam exercitationem maximè, qua C. Carbonem noſtrum illum inimicum ſolitum eſſe uti ſciebam,

juſtlie by *Craſſus* and *Cicero*; yet allowed, and made ſterling agayne, by *M. Quintilian*: nevertheleſs ſhortlie after, by better aſſaye, diſallowed of his owne ſcholer, *Plinius Secundus*, who termeth it rightlie thus, * *audax contentio.* It is a bold compariſon indeede, to think to ſay better, than that is beſt. Such turning of the beſt into worſe, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a faire ſweete flagon of ſilver, into a foule muſtie bottle of ledder; or to turne pure gold and ſilver into foule braſſe and copper.

Soch kinde of *Paraphraſis*, in turning, chopping, and changing the beſt to worſe, either in the mynte or ſcholes, (though *M. Brokk* and *Quintilian* both ſay the contrary) is moch miſliked of the beſt and wiſeſt men. I can better allow an other kinde of *Paraphraſis*, to turne rude and barbarous, into proper and eloquent: which nevertheleſs is an exerciſe not fitte for a ſcholer, but for a perfite maſter; who in plentie hath good choice, in copie hath right judgement, and grounded ſkill; as did appeare to be in *Sebaſtian Caſtalio*, in tranſlating *Kemppes* booke *de Imitando Chriſto.*

But to follow *Quintilianus* adviſe for *Paraphraſis*, were even to take paine, to ſeeke the worſe and fowler way, when the plaine and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The olde and beſt authors that ever wrote, were content if occaſion required to ſpeake twiſe of one matter, not to change the wordes, but ἐητῶς, that is, worde for worde to expreſſe it againe. For they thought that a matter, well expreſſed with fitte wordes and apt compoſition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their ſelves, they thought it would alſo be well allowed of others.

" ſciebam, ut aut verſibus propoſitis quàm maximè gravibus, aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum " finem, quem memoria poſſem comprehendere, eam rem ipſam, quam legiſſem, verbis aliis " quàm maximè poſſem lectis pronunciarem." *Cic. de Orat. lib.* 1.

* " Licebit interdum & notiſſima eligere, & certare cum electis. Audax hæc, non ta- " men improba, quia ſecreta, contentio; quanquam multos videmus ejuſmodi certamina ſibi " cum multa laude ſumpſiſſe, quoſque ſubſequi ſatis habebant, dum non deſperant, antè- " ceſſiſſe." *Pliny*, in the ſame epiſtle.

A ſcholemaſter, ſoch a one as I require, knoweth that I ſay trewe. He readeth in *Homer*, almoſt in everie booke, and ſpeciallie *in ſecundo, & nono Iliados*, not onlie ſome verſes, but whole leaves, not to be altered with new, but to be uttered with the old ſelfe ſame wordes. He knoweth that *Xenophon*, writing twiſe of *Ageſilaus*, once in his life, againe in the hiſtorie of the *Greekes*, in one matter, kepeth alwayes the ſelfe ſame wordes. He doth the like, ſpeaking of *Socrates*, both in the beginning of his apologie, and in the laſt ende of Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Homer. Iliad. 2. & 9.

Xenophon.

Demoſthenes alſo, in the fourth *Philippica*, doth borow his owne wordes, uttered before in his oration *de Cherſoneſo*. He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations againſt *Andration*, and *Timocrates*.

Demoſthenes.

In *Latin* alſo, *Cicero* in ſome places, and *Virgil* in mo, do repeate one matter with the ſelfe ſame wordes. Thies excellent authors did thus, not for lacke of wordes, but by judgement and ſkill, whatſoever others, more curious, and leſſe ſkilfull, do thinke, write, and do.

Cicero. Virgil.

Paraphraſis nevertheleſſe hath good place in learnyng, but not, by myne opinion, for any ſcholer; but is onelie to be left to a perfite maſter, eyther to expound openlie a good author withall, or to compare privatelie, for his owne exerciſe, how ſome notable place of an excellent author may be uttered with other fitte wordes. But if ye alter alſo the compoſition, forme, and order, then that is not *Paraphraſis*, but *Imitatio*, as I will fullie declare in fitter place.

The ſcholer ſhall winne nothing by *Paraphraſis*, but onelie, if we may believe *Tullie*, to chooſe worſe wordes, to place them out of order, to feare overmoch the judgement of the maſter, to miſlike overmoch the hardneſs of learnyng; and by uſe to gather up faultes, which hardlie will be left of againe.

The maſter in teaching it, ſhall rather encreaſe hys owne labour, than his ſcholers proffet. For when the ſcholer ſhall bring unto his maſter a piece of *Tullie*, or *Cæſar*, turned into other *Latin*, then muſt the

maſter come to *Quintilianus* goodlie leſſon *de Emendatione*; "which (as "he ſayeth) is * the moſt profitable part of teaching;" but not in myne opinion, and namelie for youth in grammer ſcholes. For the maſter nowe taketh double pains; firſt, to marke what is amiſſe; againe, to invent what may be ſayd better. And here perchance, a verie good maſter may eaſilie both deceive himſelfe, and lead his ſcholer into error. De Inſtit. Orat. lib. x.

It requireth greater learnyng, and deeper judgement, than is to be hoped for at any ſcholemaſters hand; that is, to be able alwaies learnedlie, and perfitelie,

Mutare, † quod ineptum eſt:
Tranſmutare, quod perverſum eſt:
Replere, quod deeſt:
Detrahere, quod obeſt:
Expungere, quod inane eſt.

And that which requireth more ſkill, and deeper conſideration,

Premere tumentia:
Extollere humilia:
Aſtringere luxurantia:
Componere diſſoluta.

The maſter may here onlie ſtumble, and perchance faull in teaching, to the marring and mayming of the ſcholer in learnyng; when it is a matter of moch readyng, of great learnyng, and tried judgement, to make trewe difference betwixt

* "Sequitur emendatio, pars ſtudiorum longe utiliſſima. Neque enim ſine cauſa creditum "eſt, *Stilum non minus agere, cum delet.*" *Quint.*

† Theſe directions for emendation are taken from *Quintilian.* "Hujus autem operis eſt, "adjicere, detrahere, mutare. Sed facilius in his ſimpliciuſque judicium, quæ replenda, "vel dejicienda ſunt: premere verò tumentia, humilia extollere, luxuriantia aſtringere, "inordinata digerere, ſoluta componere, exultantia coercere, duplicis operæ."

Sublime, & tumidum:
Grande, & immodicum:
Decorum, & ineptum:
Perfectum, & nimium.

Some men of our time counted perfite maſters of eloquence *, in their owne opinion the beſt, in other mens judgementes very good; (as *Omphalius* everie where, *Sadoletus* in many places; yea alſo my friende *Oſorius*, namelie in his epiſtle to the queene, and in his whole booke *de Juſticia)* have ſo over reached themſelves in making trewe difference in the poyntes afore rehearſed, as though they had been brought up † in ſome ſchole in *Aſia*, to learne to decline, rather than in *Athens* with *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Demoſthenes*, (from whence *Tullie* fetched his eloquence) to underſtand, what in everie matter to be ſpoken, or written on, is, in verie deede, *Nimium*, *Satis*, *Parum*; that is for to ſay, to all conſiderations, *Decorum:* which as it is the hardeſt point in all learnyng, ſo is it the faireſt and onlie marke that ſcholers, in all their ſtudie, muſt alwayes ſhote at, if they purpoſe an other day, to be either ſounde in religion, or wiſe and diſcrete in any vocation of the common wealth.

Agayne, in the loweſt degree, it is no low point of learnyng and judgement, for a ſcholemaſter to make trewe difference betwixt

Humile, & depreſſum:
Lene, & remiſſum:
Siccum, & aridum:
Exile, & macrum:
Inaffectatum, & neglectum.

* "Familiaris noſter M. Bucculejus, homo neque meo judicio ſtultus, et ſuo valde ſa-
" piens." *Cicero de Orat. lib.* 1.

† What ſort of oratory the *Aſiatics* generally affected, is eaſily ſeen in *Tully*. A paſſage or two to this purpoſe, I ſhall cite out of his book *de claris Orat.* "Genera autem Aſiaticæ
" dictionis, duo ſunt: unum ſententioſum, & argutum, ſententiis non tam gravibus, & ſe-
" veris, quàm concinnis & venuſtis. Aliud autem genus eſt, non tam ſententiis frequenta-
" tum, quàm verbis volucre, atque incitatum; quali eſt nunc Aſia tota, nec flumine ſolum
" orationis, ſed etiam exornato, & faceto genere verborum." And in the ſame book,
" Hinc Aſiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate, nec copia, ſed parùm preſſi,
" & nimis redundantes. Rhodii ſaniores, & Atticorum ſimiliores."

In

In theſe poyntes, ſome loving *Melanćthon* well, as he was well worthie, but yet not conſidering well, nor wiſelie, how he of nature, and all his life and ſtudie by judgement, was whollie ſpent in *Genere diſciplinabili*; that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainlie and aptlie ſchole matters; and therefore imployed thereunto a fitte, ſenſible, and caulme kinde of ſpeaking and writing: ſome, I ſay, with very well liking, but not with verie well weying *Melanćthones* doinges, do frame themſelves a ſtyle, cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be never ſo warme and earneſt; not moch unlike unto one, that had a pleaſure, in a rough, raynie, winter day, to clothe himſelfe with nothing els * but a demie buckram caſſock, plaine without plaites, and ſingle without lyning; which will neither beare of winde nor wether, nor yet kepe out the ſunne in any hote day.

Some ſuppoſe, and that by good reaſon, that *Melanćthon* himſelfe came to this low kinde of writyng, by uſing over moch *Paraphraſis* in reading. For ſtudying therebie to make everie thing ſtraight and eaſie, in ſmothing and playning all things to much, never leaveth, whiles the ſenſe it ſelfe be left both lowſe and leaſie. And ſome of thoſe *Paraphraſes* of *Melanćthon* be ſet out in printe, as, *Pro Archia Poeta, & Marco Marcello:* but a ſcholer, by myne opinion, is better occupied in playing or ſleping, than in ſpending tyme, not onlie vainlie, but alſo harmefullie, in ſoch a kinde of exerciſe. Paraphraſis in uſe of teaching, hath hurt Melanćthons ſtile in writing.

If a maſter would have a perfitte example to folow, how in *Genere ſublimi*, to avoide *Nimium*; or in *Mediocri*, to atteyne *Satis*; or in *Humili*, to eſchew *Parum*; let him read diligently for the firſt, *ſecundam Philippicam*; for the meane, *de Natura Deorum*; and for the loweſt, *Partitiones*. Or if in another tonge ye looke for like example, in like perfection, for all thoſe three degrees, read *Pro Cteſiphonte*, *ad Leptinem*, & *Contra Olympiodorum*; and what witte, arte, and diligence is hable to affourde, ye ſhall plainlie ſee. Cicero. Demoſthenes.

For our tyme, the odde man to performe all three perfitlie, whatſoever he doth, and to know the way to do them ſkilfullie, whenſo-

* Horace, "Campeſtre nivalibus auris."

Joannes Sturmius.

ever he liſt, is, in my poore opinion, *Joannes Sturmius*. He alſo counſelleth all ſcholers to be ware of *Paraphraſis*, except it be from worſe to better; from rude and barbarous, to proper and pure *Latin*; and yet no man to exerciſe that neyther, except ſoch one, as is alreadie furniſhed with plentie of learnyng, and grounded with ſtedfaſt judgement before.

All theis faultes, that thus manie wiſe men do finde with the exerciſe of *Paraphraſis*, in turning the beſt *Latin* into other, as good as they can; that is, ye may be ſure, into a great deale worſe, than it was, both in right choiſe for proprietie, and trewe placing for good order, are committed alſo commonlie in all common ſcholes by the ſchole-maſters, in toſſing and trobling yong wittes (as I ſayd * in the beginning) with that butcherlie feare in making of *Latins*.

Therefore, in place of *Latins* for yong ſcholers, and of *Paraphraſis* for the maſters, I would have double tranſlation ſpecially uſed. For in double tranſlating a perfite piece of *Tullie*, or *Cæſar*, neyther the ſcholer in learnyng, nor the maſter in teaching can erre. A true toch-ſtone, a ſure mete-wand lieth before both their eyes. For all right congruity, propriety of wordes, order in ſentences; the right imitation to invent good matter, to diſpoſe it in good order, to confirme it with good reaſon, to expreſſe any purpoſe fitlie and orderlie, is learned thus both eaſilie and perfitlie. Yea, to miſſe ſometyme in this kinde of tranſlation, bringeth more proffet than to hit right either in *Paraphraſis*, or making of *Latins*. For though ye ſay well in a *Latin* making, or in a *Paraphraſis*, yet you being but in doute, and uncertayne, whether ye ſaie well, or no, ye gather and lay up in memorie no ſure frute of learnyng thereby; but if ye fault in tranſlation, ye are eaſelie taught, how perfitlie to amende it, and ſo well warned, how after to eſchew all ſoch faultes againe.

Paraphraſis therefore, by myne opinion, is not meete for grammar ſcholes; nor yet verie fitte for yong men in the univerſitie, untill ſtudie and tyme have bred in them perfite learnyng, and ſtedfaſt judgement.

* See page 199.

There

There is a kinde of *Paraphrasis*, which may be used without all hurt, to moch profit; but it serveth onely the *Greeke*, and not the *Latin*, nor no other tonge; as to alter *linguam Ionicam, aut Doricam*, into *meram Atticam*. A notable example there is left unto us by a notable learned man, *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*; who, * in his booke περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀνομάτων, doth translate the goodlie storie of *Candaules*, and *Gyges*, in the first booke of *Herodotus*, out of *Ionica lingua*, into *Atticam*. Read the place, and ye shall take both pleasure and proffet in conference of it. A man that is exercised in reading *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Demosthenes*, in using to turne like places of *Herodotus*, after like sorte, should shortlie come to soch a knowledge in understanding, speaking, and writing the *Greeke* tonge, as fewe or none have yet atteyned in *Englande*. The like exercise out of *Dorica lingua* may be also used, if a man take † that litle booke of *Plato*, *Timæus Locrus*, *de Anima mundi*, & *Natura*, which is written *Doricè*, and turne it into soch *Greeke* as *Plato* useth in other workes. The booke is but two leaves, and the labor would be but two weekes; but surelie the proffet, for easie understanding, and trewe writing the *Greeke* tonge, would countervaile wyth the toile that some men take in otherwise coldlie reading that tonge two yeares.

And yet for the *Latin* tonge, and for the exercise of *Paraphrasis* in those places of *Latin*, that cannot be bettered, if some yong man, excellent of witte, couragious in will, lustie of nature, and desirous to contend even with the best *Latin*, to better it, if he can; surelie I commend his forwardnesse: and for his better instruction therein, I will set before him as notable an example of *Paraphrasis*, as is in record of learnyng. *Cicero* himselfe doth contend, in two sondrie places, to expresse one matter with divers wordes; and that is *Paraphrasis*, saith *Quintilian*. The matter, I suppose, is taken out of *Panætius*; and therefore being translated out of *Greeke* at divers times, is uttered for his purpose, with divers wordes and formes; which kinde of exercise, for perfite learned men, is verie profitable.

* I have here given the true title of *Dionysius*'s book. 'Twas at first printed, περὶ Συντάξεως, ἁμαρτήματι μνημονικῷ. The story of *Candaules* and *Gyges* is pag. 24. of the *London* edition of *Dionysius*.

† One would imagine from these words, Mr. *Ascham* believed *Plato* to be the author of that treatise. The title of it is, Τιμαίω τῷ Λοκρῷ περὶ ψυχᾶς Κόσμω, καὶ Φύσιος.

De

De Finibus, Lib. ſec.

*Homines enim, * etſi aliis multis, tamen hoc uno à beſtiis plurimum differunt, quòd rationem habeant à natura datam, mentemque & acrem & vigentem, celerrimeque multa ſimul agitantem, &, ut ita dicam, ſagacem: quæ & cauſas rerum, & conſecutiones videat, & ſimilitudines transferat, & diſjuncta conjungat, & cum præſentibus futura copulet, omnemque complectatur vitæ conſequentis ſtatum. Eademque ratio fecit hominem hominum appetentem, cumque his natura, & ſermone, & uſu congruentem; ut profectus à caritate domeſticorum, ac ſuorum, ſerpat longius, & ſe implicet primum civium, deinde omnium mortalium ſocietate: atque, ut ad Archytam ſcripſit Plato, non ſibi ſe ſoli natum meminerit, ſed patriæ, ſed ſuis, ut perexigua pars ipſi relinquatur. Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inveniendi, quod facillime apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, ſcire avemus: &c.*

De Officiis, Lib. pri.

Homo autem, quod rationis eſt particeps, per quam conſequentia cernit, cauſas rerum videt, earumque progreſſus, & quaſi anteceſſiones non ignorat, ſimilitudines comparat, & rebus præſentibus adjungit, atque annectit futuras: facile totius vitæ curſum videt, ad eamque degendam præparat res neceſſarias. Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, & ad orationis, & ad vitæ ſocietatem: ingeneratque inprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati ſunt; impellitque, ut hominum cœtus, & celebrationes eſſe, & à ſe obiri velit; ob eaſque cauſas ſtudeat parare ea, quæ ſuppeditent & ad cultum, & ad victum; nec ſibi ſoli, ſed conjugi, liberis, cæteriſque, quos charos habeat, tuerique debeat. Quæ cura exſuſcitat etiam animos, & majores ad rem gerendam facit. Inprimiſque hominis eſt propria veri inquiſitio, atque inveſtigatio. Itaque cùm ſumus neceſſariis negotiis, curiſque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, addiſcere; cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum, aut admirabilium, ad beatè vivendum neceſſariam ducimus.

The conference of theſe two places, conteyning ſo excellent a piece of learnyng, as this is, expreſſed by ſo worthy a witte, as *Tullies* was,

* Theſe citations, which were very imperfect before, are now carefully corrected from the printed editions of *Tully*. And here I can't but obſerve, that this book has undergone the common fate of all orphans, and ſuffered very much for its parent's untimely death.

muſt

muſt needes bring great pleaſure and proffit to him, that maketh trewe counte of learnyng and honeſty. But if we had the *Greek* author, the firſt paterne of all, and thereby to ſee how *Tullies* witte did worke at diverſe times; how, out of one excellent image might be framed two other, one in face and favour, but ſomewhat differing in forme, figure, and colour; ſurely ſuch a piece of workemanſhip, compared with the paterne itſelfe, would better pleaſe the eies of honeſt, wiſe, and learned myndes, than two of the faireſt *Venuſſes* that ever *Apelles* made.

And thus moch for all kinde of *Paraphraſis*, fitte or unfitte, for ſcholers or other, as I am led to thinke, not onlye by myne owne experience, but chiefly by the authoritie and judgement of thoſe, whom I myſelfe would gladlyeſt folow, and do counſell all myne to do the ſame; not contendyng with any other, that will otherwiſe either thinke, or do.

Metaphrasis.

This kinde of exerciſe is all one with *Paraphraſis*, ſave it is out of verſe, either into proſe, or into ſome other kinde of meter; or elſe out of proſe into verſe, which was *Socrates* exerciſe and paſtime (as *Plato* reporteth) when he was * in priſon, to tranſlate *Æſopes Fabules* into verſe. Plato in Phædone. *Quintilian* doth greatlie praiſe † alſo this exerciſe: but bicauſe *Tullie* doth diſalow it in yong men, by myne opinion, it were not well to uſe it in grammer ſcholes, even for the ſelfe ſame cauſes that be recited againſt *Paraphraſis*. And therefore, for the uſe, and miſuſe of it, the ſame is to be thought that is ſpoken of *Paraphraſis* before. This was *Sulpitius* exerciſe; and he gathering up thereby a poeticall kinde of

* What he alludes to here, is in the beginning of *Plato*'s *Phædo*. Περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν ἐποίησας, ἐνθένδας τὰς τῦ Αἰσώπε λόγες, καὶ τὸ εἰς τον Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤρουλο ἤδη, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐήνὸς πρώην, ὅ, τι ποτὲ διανοηθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποίησας αὐτὰ, πρότερον ἀδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας.

† "Sed & illa ex Latinis converſio, multum & ipſa contulerit. Ac de carminibus quidem "neminem credo dubitare, quo ſolo genere exercitationis dicitur uſus eſſe Sulpicius. Nam "& ſublimis ſpiritus attollere orationem poteſt; & verba poeticà libertate audaciora, præ"ſumunt eandem propriè dicendi facultatem. Sed & ipſis ſententiis adjicere licet oratorium "robur, & omiſſa ſupplere, et effuſa ſubſtringere." *Quint. lib.* 10.

talke, is juſtlie named of *Cicero*, † *grandis & tragicus orator:* which I think is ſpoken, not for his praiſe, but for other mens warning, to eſchew the like faulte. Yet neverthelefs, if our ſcholemaſter, for his owne inſtruction, be deſirous to ſee a perfit example hereof, I will recite one, which I thinke, no man is ſo bold to ſay, that he can amend it; and that is *Chriſes* the prieſtes oration to the *Greekes*, in the beginning of *Homers Ilias*, turned excellentlie into proſe by *Socrates* himſelfe, and that adviſedlie and purpoſelie for others to folow. And therefore he calleth this exercife * in the ſame place, Μίμησις, that is, *Imitatio*; which is moſt trew: but in this booke, for teachyng ſake, I will name it *Metaphraſis*, reteinyng the word that all teachers in this caſe do uſe.

Ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
Λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,
Στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
Χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ· καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα, δύω κοσμήτορε λαῶν.

Ἀτρεῖδαί τε, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,
Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.
Παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε,
Ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν, ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.

Ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ,
Αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα.
Ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἥνδανε θυμῷ,
Ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.

† "Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maximè omnium, quos quidem audiverim, grandis, &, ut ita "dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cùm magna, tum ſuavis & ſplendida: geſtus & motus cor- "poris ita venuſtus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad ſcenam inſtitutus videretur. Incitata & "volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio." *Cic. de claris Orat. fag.* 181.

From this character here given by *Tully*, *Sulpicius* ſeems to be called *grandis & tragicus*, rather from his theatrical management of himſelf in his delivery, than from his ſtile and method of expreſſion.

* Οὐκοῦν τό γε ὁμοιοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῳ, ἢ κατὰ φωνὴν, ἢ καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα, μιμεῖσθαί ἐστιν ἐκείνου ᾧ ἄν τις ὁμοιοῖ; Τί μήν; Ἐν δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἔστος τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ διὰ μιμήσεως τὴν διήγησιν ποιοῦνται. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Εἰ δέ γε μηδαμοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτοιτο ὁ ποιητὴς, πᾶσα ἂν αὐτῷ ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἡ ποίησίς τε καὶ ἡ διηγησις γεγοννῖα εἴη. *Plato de Rep. lib.* 3.

Μή

Μή σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω,
Ἢ νῦν δηθυνοντ', ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα,
Μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον, καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.
Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν,
Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἄργεϊ τηλόθι πάτρης
Ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένην, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν.
Ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὡς κε νέηαι.

Ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.
Βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ.

Κλῦθί μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας,
Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,
Σμινθεῦ· εἴποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
Ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
Ταύρων, ἠδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἔελδωρ·
Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

Socrates, in *Plato*'s third book *de Republica*, ſaith thus: Φράσω δὲ ἄνευ μέτρου· ἐὰν γὰρ εἰμὶ ποιητικός.

Ἦλθεν ὁ Χρύσης τῆς τε θυγατρὸς λύτρα φέρων, καὶ ἱκέτης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων· καὶ εὔχετο ἐκείνοις μὲν τὰς θεὰς δοῦναι ἑλόντας τὴν Τροίαν, αὐτᾶς δὲ σωθῆναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα οἱ αὐτῷ λῦσαι, δεξαμένους ἄποινα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντι αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐσέβοντο καὶ συνήνουν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἠγρίαινεν, ἐντελλόμενον νῦν τε ἀπιέναι, καὶ αὖθις μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τό, τε σκῆπτρον, καὶ τὰ τῆ θεῆ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι. πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτῆ τὸν θυγατέρα, ἐν Ἄργει ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ ἔ. ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐκέλευε, καὶ μὴ ἐρεθίζειν, ἵνα σῶς οἴκαδε ἔλθοι. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀκέσας, ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ἀπῄει σιγῇ. ἀποχωρήσας δ' ἐκ τῆ στρατοπέδου, πολλὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὔχετο, τάς τε ἐπωνυμίας τῆ θεῆ ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ αἰτιῶν, εἴτι πώποτε ἢ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσιαῖς κεχαρισμένον δωρήσαιτο, ὧν δὴ χάριν κατεύχετο τίσαι τὰς Ἀχαιὰς τὰ ἃ δάκρυα τοῖς ἐκείνου βέλεσι.

To compare * *Homer* and *Plato* together, two wonders of nature and arte, for witte and eloquence, is moſt pleaſant and profitable for a man

* *Plato* himſelf, (if we may believe *Longinus*) as well as the reſt of the *Grecian* writers, owes not a little to *Homer*, their common maſter; tho' he was ſo ungrateful, as to forbid him his

man of ripe judgement. *Platos* turning of *Homer* in this place doth not ride aloft in poetical termes, but goeth low and ſoft on foote, as proſe and *pedeſtris oratio* ſhould do. If *Sulpitius* had had * *Platos* conſideration in right uſing this exerciſe, he had not deſerved the name of *tragicus orator*; who ſhould rather have ſtudied to expreſſe *vim Demoſthenis*, than *furorem poetæ*, how good ſoever he was, whom he did folow.

And therefore would I have our ſcholemaſter wey well together *Homer* and *Plato*, and marke diligentlie theſe foure pointes; "what is "kept, what is added, what is left out, what is changed, either in "choiſe of wordes, or forme of ſentences." Which foure pointes be the right tooles, to handle like a workeman this kinde of worke; as our ſcholer ſhall better underſtand, when he hath bene a good while in the univerſitie: to which tyme and place, I chiefly remitte this kinde of exerciſe.

And bicauſe I ever thought examples to be the beſt kinde of teaching, I will recite a golden ſentence out of that poete, which is next unto *Homer*, not only in tyme, but alſo in worthineſs; which hath been a paterne for many worthie wittes to follow by this kind of *Metaphraſis*. But I will content myſelfe with foure workemen, two in *Greke*, and two in *Latin*, ſoch as, in both the tonges, wiſer and worthier cannot be looked for. Surelie no ſtone ſet in gold by moſt cunning workemen, is in deed, if right counte be made, more worthie the looking on,

his Republick. Οὐ γὰρ μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο. Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον, ὅ, τε Ἀρχίλοχος. πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ ἐκείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παραῤῥοπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος. *Sect.* 13.

* Altho' in this inſtance, and moſtly elſewhere, *Plato* flows along in a ſoft and gentle ſtream, χειμαλί τινι ἀψοφητὶ ῥέων, as *Longinus* ſpeaks; yet he has his ſublimities too, and bold flights. And ſome paſſages there are to be found in his writings, not entirely clear of the ſame cenſure, which is by *Tully* caſt upon *Sulpicius*. And this perhaps might be occaſioned likewiſe by his paſſionate affection for the muſes, and ſtudy of poetry in his youthful days. Who can read this ſentence, and not be offended, which *Longinus* cites out of his ninth book *de Republica*? Καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς τούτων περιεργίας λακλίζοντες, καὶ κυρίττοντες ἀλλήλοις σιδηροῖς χέρασι, καὶ ὁπλαῖς, ἀποκλινούσι δι' ἀπλησίαν. For ſuch harſh and metaphorical expreſſions as theſe, and for his poetical and figurative ſchemes, (σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἰσχάτην προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν) *Plato* is ſomewhat ſeverely handled by *Dionyſius*, in his letter to *Cn. Pompey*.

than this golden ſentence, diverſlie wrought upon by ſoch foure excellent maſters.

Heſiodus, Ἐργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ. ά.

Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,
Φρασσάμενος, τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω.
Ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.
Ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

Thus rudelie turned into baſe *Engliſh*:

That man in wiſedome paſſeth all,
To know the beſt, who hath a head:
And meetelie wiſe eeke counted ſhall,
Who yieldes himſelfe to wiſe mens read.
Who hath no witte, nor none will heare,
Amonge all fooles the bell may beare.

Sophocles in Antigone.

Γνώμη γὰρ εἴ τις κἀπ' ἐμοῦ νεωτέρου
Πρόσεστι, φήμ' ἔγωγε, πρεσβεύειν πολύ
Φύναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέω.
Εἰ δ' οὖν, (φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ ταύτῃ ῥέπειν)
Καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ, καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.

Marke the wiſedome of *Sophocles* in leavyng out the laſt ſentence, bicauſe it was not comlie * for the ſonne to uſe it to his father.

St. Baſil, *in his Exhortation to Youth.*

Μέμνησθε † τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὃς φησί· Ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα, ἐσθλὸν δὲ κἀκεῖνον, τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδειχθεῖσιν ἑπόμενον· τὸν δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἕτερον ἐπιτήδειον, ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

M.

* *Hæmon* ſpeaks to his father *Creon*: I have added the firſt verſe, in this edition, from *Sophocles*.

† This is taken from the beginning of St. *Baſil's diſcourſe to the young ſtudents, directing them how to read the* Grecian *writers with advantage.* Εἰ μὲν ἦν προθύμως δέχοισθε τὰ λεγόμενα, τῆς

M. Cicero pro A. Cluentio.

Sapientiſſimum eſſe dicunt eum, cui quod opus ſit, ipſi veniat in mentem: proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. In ſtultitia contra eſt. Minus enim ſtultus eſt is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quàm ille, qui quod ſtulte alteri venit in mentem, comprobat.

Cicero doth not plainlie expreſſe the laſt ſentence, but doth invent it fitlie for his purpoſe, to taunt the follie and ſimplicitie in his adverſarie *Actius*, not weying wiſelie the ſutle doynges of *Chryſogonus*, and *Stalenus*.

Tit. Livius in orat. Minucii, lib. 22.

Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum eſſe virum, qui ipſe conſulat, quid in rem ſit; ſecundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipſe conſulere, nec alteri parere ſcit, eum extremi eſſe ingenii.

Now which of all theſe foure, *Sophocles*, St. *Baſil*, *Cicero*, or *Livie*,* hath expreſſed *Heſiodus* beſt, the judgement is as hard, as the workmanſhip of everie one is moſt excellent indeede.

Another example out of the *Latin* tonge alſo I will recite, for the worthines of the workman thereof, and that is *Horace*; who hath ſo turned the begynning of *Terences Eunuchus*, as doth worke in me a pleaſant admiration, as oft ſo ever as I compare thoſe two places together: And though everie maſter, and everie good ſcholer to, do know the places both in *Terence* and *Horace*; yet will I ſet them here in one place together, that with more pleaſure they may be compared together.

τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἐπαινεμμένων ἔσεσθε παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ τάξεως. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι δυσχερές· αὐτοὶ δὲ μέμνησθε τῶν ἐπῶν δηλονότι, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος φησί· Ἄριστον, &c.

* To theſe paſſages already cited by our author, I ſhall add another from *Plutarch*, who ſeems plainly to have had *Heſiod* in his eye: Τὸ μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπόν ἐστι· τόνδ' ἁμαρτόντα χρήσασθαι τοῖς πλαίσμασι, διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. Perhaps after πλαίσμασι, the particle ὡς may be well inſerted.

Terentius

Terentius in Eunucho.

Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem
Cum accerſor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?
Excluſit, revocat; redeam? non ſi me obſecret.

Parmeno a little after:

Here, quæ res in ſe neque conſilium neque modum
Habet ullum, eam conſilio regere non potes.
In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia; injuriæ,
Suſpiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rurſum. Incerta hæc ſi tu poſtules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quàm ſi des operam, ut cum ratione inſanias.

Horatius, ſerm. lib. 2. ſat. 3.

Nec nunc, cùm me vocet ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Excluſit, revocat: redeam? non, ſi obſecret. Ecce
Servus non paulò ſapientior: O here, quæ res
Nec modum habet, neque conſilium, ratione modoque,
Tractari non vult. In amore hæc ſunt mala, bellum,
Pax rurſum. hæc ſi quis tempeſtatis prope ritu
Mobilia, & cæcâ fluitantia ſorte, laboret
Reddere certa ſibi, nihilo plus explicet, ac ſi
Inſanire paret certâ ratione, modoque.

This exerciſe may bring moch profite to ripe heades, and ſtayd judgementes; bicauſe in traveling in it, the mynde muſt needes be verie attentive, and buſilie occupied in turning and toſſing itſelfe many wayes, and conferryng with great pleaſure, the varietie of worthie wittes and judgementes together. But this harme may ſone come thereby, and namelie to yong ſcholers, leſt in ſeeking other wordes, and newe forme of ſentences, they chance upon the worſe: for the which onelie cauſe, *Cicero* thinketh this exerciſe not to be fit for yong men.

Epitome.

This is a way of ſtudie belonging rather to matter than to wordes; to memorie, than to utterance; to thoſe that be learned alreadie, and hath ſmall place at all amonges yong ſcholers in grammar ſcholes. It may proffit privately ſome learned men, but it hath hurt generallie learnyng itſelfe very moch. For by it we have loſt whole *Trogus*, the beſt part of *T. Livius*, the goodly dictionarie of * *Pompeius Feſtus*, a great deale of the civille law, and other many notable bookes: for the which cauſe, I do the more miſlike this exerciſe both in old and yong.

Epitome is good privatelie for himſelfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all others, that uſe other mens labor therein. A ſillie poore kinde of ſtudie, not unlike to the doing of thoſe poore folke, which neither till, nor ſowe, nor reape themſelves, but gleane by ſtealth upon other mens groundes. Soch have empty barnes for deare yeares.

Grammar ſcholes have fewe *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and ſuch beggarlie gatheringes, as † *Horman*, ‡ *Whittington*, and other like Vulgares for making of *Latines*. Yea I do wiſhe, that

* This dictionary of *Feſtus*, as it was a learned, ſo was it a voluminous work: for it contained no leſs than twenty large books, as we may ſee from *Paulus Diaconus*'s words, who epitomiz'd it. "Feſtus Pompejus Romanis ſtudiis affatim eruditus, tam ſermonum abdito-"rum, quàm etiam quarundam cauſarum origines aperiens, opus ſuum ad viginti uſque pro-"lixa volumina extendit."

† He is mentioned before. The title of his book is, *Vulgaria Viri doctiſſimi Gul. Hermanni Cæſariſburgenſis*. And 'tis dedicated to his friend and patron, *William Atwater* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. It conſiſts of ſingle ſentences in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, without either order or connection, excepting that they are ranged under certain general heads: one of which, being in honour of our royal founder, (who was deſign'd to have been canoniz'd, had not the charges at *Rome* prov'd exceſſive) I ſhall give the reader as a ſpecimen:

King *Henry* doth many divers miracles.
Divus Henricus non una miraculorum ſpecie inclaruit.

‡ *Rob. Whittington* was educated in *Oxford*. He was thought by ſome little inferior to the ableſt ſchole-maſters of the age, not excepting even *Lily*; with whom, and *Horman*, he could not agree: they reſenting the title of *Proto-vates Angliæ*, which *Whittington* had vainly aſſumed. He publiſhed a great deal; and amongſt the reſt, his *Vulgaria* likewiſe: to which titles Mr. *Aſcham* alludes in the next words; *and other like Vulgars for making of* Latins.

all

all rules for yong ſcholers were ſhorter than they be. For without doute, *Grammatica* itſelfe is ſooner and ſurer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rules of *Grammarians*. *Epitome* hurteth more in the univerſities, and ſtudie of philoſophie; but moſt of all in divinitie itſelfe.

Indeede bookes of common places be verie neceſſary to induce a man into an orderlie general knowledge, how to referre orderlie, all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum capita*, and not wander in ſtudie. And to that end did *Pet. Lombardus*, the maſter of ſentences, and *Phil. Melancthon* in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places.

But to dwell in *Epitomes*, and bookes of common places, and not to binde himſelfe dailie by orderlie ſtudie, to reade with all diligence principallie the holyeſt Scripture, and withall the beſt doctors, and ſo to learne to make trewe difference betwixt the authoritie of the one, and the councell of the other, maketh ſo many ſeeming, and ſunburnt miniſters, as we have; whoſe learning is gotten in a ſommer heat, and waſhed away with a *Chriſtmas* ſnow againe: who nevertheleſſe are leſſe to be blamed, than thoſe blind buſſardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull maliciouſnes, would neyther learne themſelves, nor could teach others any thing at all.

Paraphraſis hath done leſſe hurt to learnyng, than *Epitome:* for no *Paraphraſis*, though there be many, ſhall ever take away *Davids* Pſalter. *Eraſmus Paraphraſis*, being never ſo good, ſhall never baniſh the New Teſtament. And in another ſchole, the *Paraphraſis* of *Bocardus*, or *Sambucus*, ſhall never take *Ariſtotles* Rhetoricke, nor *Horace de Arte Poetica*, out of learned mens handes.

But as concerning a ſchole *Epitome*, he that would have an example of it, let him read * *Lucian* περὶ Κάλλους, which is the verie *Epitome* of

* *Lucian*'s Εἰκόνες is here pointed at; in which treatiſe *Panthea*, the *Smyrna* beauty, is deſcribed with ſo much oſtentation of wit and learning. Τὴν δὲ περὶ Κάλλας κατ' ἰδίαν Λεκιανὸς μιμήσασθαι πραγματείαν ἐπιχειρήσας, ἃ μὲν κατωρθωκέναι δοκεῖ τοῖς κριτικωτέροις τῶν φιλοσοφούντων. "Partem de pulchritudine, peculiari opere Lucianus æmulatus eſt, co-"natu majore, ſi doctis credimus, quàm ſucceſſu." *Vide Argumentum Wolfii in Iſocratis Helenæ Laudationem.*

Iſocrates oration *de Laudibus Helenæ :* whereby he may learne, at the leaſt, this wiſe leſſon, " that a man ought to beware, to be overbold in " altering an excellent mans worke."

Nevertheles, ſome kinde of *Epitome* may be uſed by men of ſkillful judgement, to the great proffet alſo of others. As if a wiſe man would take * *Halles* Chronicle, where moch good matter is quite marred with indenture *Engliſhe :* and firſt, change ſtrange and inkhorne termes into proper and commonlie uſed wordes; next, ſpecially to wede out that, that is ſuperfluous and idle, not onlie where wordes be vainlie heaped one upon another, but alſo where many ſentences of one meaning, be ſo clouted up together, as though M. *Hall* had bene, not writing the ſtorie of *England*, but varying a ſentence in *Hitching* ſchole. Surelie a wiſe learned man, by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away wordes and ſentences, and diminiſhing nothing at all of the matter, ſhold leave to mens uſe a ſtorie, half as moch as it was in quantitie, but twiſe as good as it was, both for pleaſure, and alſo commoditie.

Another kinde of *Epitome* may be uſed likewiſe very well to moch proffet. Some man either by luſtines of nature, or brought by ill teaching to a wrong judgement, is over full of wordes, ſentences, and matter : and yet all his wordes be proper, apt, and well choſen; all his ſentences be rownd, and trimlie framed; his whole matter grounded upon good reaſon, and ſtuffed with full argumentes for his intent and purpoſe : Yet when his talke ſhall be heard, or his writing be red of ſuch one, as is either of my two deareſt frendes, M. *Haddon* at home, or *John Sturmius* in *Germanie*; that *Nimium* in him, which fooles and unlearned will moſt commend, ſhall eyther of theis two bite his lippe, or ſhake his head at it.

This fulnes, as it is not to be miſliked † in a yong man, ſo in furder aige, in greater ſkill, and weightier affaires, is to be temperated; or elſe diſcretion

* Mr. *Edw. Hall* was counſellor at law, and writ his Chronicle of the union of the two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* in the time of *Edward* VI. Bp. *Burnet*, in the preface to his hiſtory, ſtiles him *a ſuperficial writer*.

† This fulneſs, and exuberancy, is what both *Tully* and *Quintilian* deſire in youth. " Audeat hæc ætas plura, & inveniat, & inventis gaudeat, ſint licet illa non ſatis interim " ſicca

diſcretion and judgement ſhall ſeeme to be wanting in him. But if his ſtile be ſtill over rancke and luſtie; as ſome men being never ſo old, and ſpent by yeares, will ſtill be full of youthfull conditions; (as was * Sir *Francis Bryan*, and evermore would have bene) ſoch a rancke and full writer muſt uſe, if he will do wiſelie, the exerciſe of a verie good kinde of *Epitome*, and do, as certaine wiſe men do, that be over fat, and fleſhie: who, leaving their owne full and plentifull table, go to ſojorne abrode from home for a while, at the temperate diet of ſome ſober man: and ſo by little and little, cut away the groſſeneſs that is in them.

As for an example; if *Oſorius* would leave of his luſtines in ſtriving againſt St. *Auſtin*, and his over rancke rayling againſt poor *Luther*, and the troth of Gods doctrine; and give his whole ſtudie, not to write any thing of his owne for a while, but to tranſlate *Demoſthenes* with ſo ſtraite, faſt, and temperate a ſtyle in *Latin*, as he is in *Greke*; he would become ſo perfect and pure a writer, I believe, as hath been fewe or none ſince *Ciceroes* daies. And ſo by doing himſelf, and all learned men, moch good, do others leſſe harme, and Chriſtes doctrine leſſe injury, than he doth: and withall, wyn unto himſelfe many worthy frendes, who agreeing with him gladly in the love and liking of excellent learnyng, are ſorrie to ſee ſo worthie a witte, ſo rare eloquence wholie ſpent, and conſumed, in ſtriving with God and good men.

Amonges the reſt, no man doth lament him more than I; not onelie for the excellent learnyng that I ſee in him, but alſo bicauſe there hath paſſed privatelie betwixt him and me, ſure tokens of moch good will, and friendlie opinion, the one toward the other. And ſurelie the diſ-

" ſicca & ſevera. Facile remedium eſt ubertatis, ſterilia nullo labore vincuntur. Illa mihi " in pueris natura minimum ſpei dabit, in qua ingenium judicio præſumittur. Materiam eſſe " primùm volo vel abundantiorem, atque ultra quàm oporteat fuſam. ——— Quod me de " his ætatibus ſentire minus mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit, *Volo enim ſe efferat in* " *adoleſcente fæcunditas.*" *Quint. de Inſt. Orat. lib.* 2.

This ſentence is taken by *Quintilian* out of *Tully*'s ſecond book *de Oratore*. " Volo enim " ſe efferat in adoleſcente fæcunditas. Nam facilius, ſicut in vitibus, revocantur ea, quæ " ſeſe nimium profuderunt, quàm ſi nihil valet materies, nova ſarmenta cultura excitantur: " ita volo eſſe in adoleſcente, unde aliquid amputem. Non enim poteſt in eo eſſe ſuccus " diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter eſt maturitatem affecutum."

* Ambaſſador at the court of *Rome* for King *Henry* VIII.

tance betwixt *London* and *Lyſbon*, ſhould not ſtoppe any kinde of frendlie dewtie, that I could eyther ſhew to him, or do to his, if the greateſt matter of all did not in certeyne pointes ſeparate our myndes.

And yet for my parte, both toward him, and diverſe others here at home, for like cauſe of excellent learnyng, great wiſdome, and gentle humanitie, which I have ſeene in them, and felt at their handes myſelfe; where the matter of difference is mere conſcience in a quiet minde inwardlie, and not contentious malice with ſpitefull rayling openlie, I can be content to follow this rewle, " in miſliking ſome one thing, not " to hate for anie thing els."

But as for all the bloodie beaſtes, as that " fat boore of the wood, " or thoſe brauling bulls of *Baſan*, or any lurking *Dormus*," blinde not by nature, but by malice, and as may be gathered of their owne teſtimonie, given over to blindneſs, for giving over God and his word: or * ſoch as be ſo luſtie runagates, as firſt runne from God, and his trewe doctrine; then from their lords, maiſters, and all dewtie; next, from themſelves, and out of their wittes; laſtly, from their prince, contrey, and all due allegence; whether they ought rather to be pittied of good men for their miſerie, or contemned of wiſe men for their malicious follie, let good and wiſe men determine.

And to returne to *Epitome* agayne. Some will judge moch boldnes in me, thus to judge of *Oſorius* ſtyle; but wiſe men do know, that meane lookers on may trewlie ſay, for a well made picture; " This face had " been more comlie, if that hie redde in the cheeke were ſomwhat more " pure ſanguin than it is;" and yet the ſtander by cannot amend it himſelfe by any way.

And this is not written to the diſpraiſe, but to the great commendation of *Oſorius*: becauſe *Tullie* himſelfe had the ſame fulneſs in him, and therefore went to *Rhodes* to cut it away; † and ſaith himſelfe, *Recepi*

* Our author ſeems, in my opinion, to point to *N. Sanders*, amongſt ſome others.

† Here again we have only part of a ſentence (as it came into our author's memory) taken out of *Tully de claris Oratoribus*, near the end. I ſhall tranſcribe the whole, ſince it will bring ſome light to the argument in hand.

" Quibus

cepi me domum prope mutatus; nam quaſi referverat jam oratio. Which was brought to paſſe I believe, not onelie by the teaching of *Molo Apolonius*, but alſo by a good way of *Epitome*, in binding himſelfe to tranſlate *meros Atticos oratores*; and ſo to bring his ſtyle from all lowſe groſneſſe, to ſoch firme faſtnes in *Latin*, as is in *Demoſthenes* in *Greke*. And this to be moſt trew, may eaſilie be gathered, * not onlie of *L. Craſſus* talke in *de Oratore*; but ſpeciallie of *Ciceroes* owne deede † in tranſlating *Demoſthenes* and *Æſchines* orations περὶ Στεφάνε, to that verie ende and purpoſe.

And although a man grownd lie learned alreadie, may take moch proffet himſelfe in uſing, by *Epitome*, to draw other mens workes for his owne memorie ſake into ſhorter rowme; (as *Canterus* hath done verie well the whole *Metamorphoſis* of *Ovid*, and *David Cythræus* a great deale better, *the nine Muſes of Herodotus*; and *Melanĉthon*, in myne opinion, far beſt of all, the whole ſtorie of time, not onelie to his owne uſe, but to other mens proffet, and hys great praiſe) yet *Epitome* is moſt neceſſarie of all in a mans owne writing, as we learne of that

" Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, " Molonem applicavi, cum actorem in veris cauſis, ſcriptoremque præſtantem, tum in no- " tandis, animadvertendiſque vitiis, & inſtituendo, docendoque prudentiſſimum. Is dedit " operam (ſi modò id conſequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos, & ſuperfluentes juvenili " quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia, reprimerer, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coer- " ceret. Ita recepi me biennio poſt non modò exercitatior, ſed prope mutatus. Nam & " contentio nimia vocis reciderat, & quaſi referverat oratio, lateribuſque vires, & corporis " mediocris habitus acceſſerat."

* See *Craſſus*'s words, cited in the notes, pag. 200.

† Tho' 'tis certain enough, that *Tully* did tranſlate theſe two orations; yet I'm apt to think from his own words, that he did it rather as an example to encourage young ſtudents to take pains that way, than with any deſign to improve himſelf; his own ſtile much earlier being brought to its full perfection.

" Sed cùm in eo magnus error eſſet, quale eſſet id dicendi genus; putavi mihi ſuſcipien- " dum laborem, utilem ſtudioſis, mihi quidem ipſi non neceſſarium. Converti enim ex " Atticis, duorum eloquentiſſimorum nobiliſſimas orationes inter ſe contrarias, Æſchinis " Demoſtheniſque: nec converti, ut interpres, ſed ut orator, ſententiis iiſdem, & earum " formis, tanquam figuris, verbis ad noſtram conſuetudinem aptis: in quibus non verbum " pro verbo neceſſe habui reddere, ſed genus omnium verborum, vimque ſervavi. Non " enim ea me annumerare lectori putavi oportere, ſed tanquam appendere."

This opinion of mine will ſtill appear more probable, from the laſt words of this introduction to theſe two orations: " Erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Atticè " volunt dicere."

noble

noble poet *Virgil*; who, if *Donatus* * ſay trewe, in writing that perfite worke of the *Georgickes*, uſed dailie, when he had written forty or fifty verſes, not to ceaſe cutting, paring, and poliſhing of them, till he had brought them to the nomber of ten or twelve.

And this exerciſe is not more nedefullie done in a great worke, than wiſelie done in our common dailie writing, either of letter, or other thing elſe; that is to ſay, to peruſe diligentlie, and ſee and ſpie wiſelie, what is alwaies more than nedeth. For twentie to one, offend more in writing to moch, than to little: even as twenty to one, fall into ſickneſſe, rather by over moch fulnes, than by any lacke or emptineſſe. And therefore is he alwaies the beſt *Engliſh* phyſician, that beſt can give a purgation; that is, by way of *Epitome* to cut all over-much away. And ſurelie mens bodies be not more full of ill humors, than commonlie mens myndes (if they be yong, luſtie, proude, like and love themſelves well, as moſt men do) be full of fantaſies, opinions, errors, and faultes, not onlie in inward invention, but alſo in all their utterance, either by pen or talke.

And of all other men, even thoſe that have the inventiveſt heades for all purpoſes, and roundeſt tonges in all matters and places (except they learne and uſe this good leſſon of *Epitome)* commit commonlie greater faultes, than dull, ſtaying, ſilent men do. For quick inventors, and faire readie ſpeakers, being boldned with their preſent habilite to ſay more, and perchance better to, at the ſoden for that preſent, than any other can do; uſe leſſe helpe of diligence and ſtudie than they ought to do; and ſo have in them commonlie leſſe learnyng, and weaker judgement for all deepe conſiderations, than ſome duller heades, and ſlower tonges have.

* The paſſage alluded to in *Virgil*'s life is this: "Cùm Georgica ſcriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos mane plurimos verſus dictare ſolitus, ac per totum diem retractando ad pauciſſimos redigere: non abſurdè, carmen ſe urſæ more parere dicens, & lambendo demum effingere."

The ſame is reported of our countryman, Mr. *Milton*, whom we may juſtly match with *Virgil*; that uſually every morning, as he lay in bed, he tumbled over in his thoughts the verſes he had made the day before, and never ceaſed altering and changing of them, till he had reduc'd them with inimitable exactneſs to a far leſs number.

And

And therefore readie ſpeakers generallie be not the beſt, playneſt, and wiſeſt writers, nor yet the deepeſt judgers in weightie affaires: becauſe they do not tarry to weye and judge all thinges as they ſhould; but having their heads over full of matter, be like pennes over full of inke, which will ſooner blotte, than make any fair letter at all. Tyme was, when I had experience of two ambaſſadors in one place; the one of a hote head to invent, and of a haſtie hand to write; the other, cold and ſtayd in both: but what difference of their doinges was made by wiſe men, is not unknown to ſome perſons. The biſhop of *Winchester*, * *Steph. Gardiner*, had a quicke head, and a readie tonge, and yet was not the beſt writer in *Englande*. *Cicero*, in *Brutus*, doth wiſelie † note the ſame in *Serg. Galba*, and *Q. Hortenſius*; who were both hote, luſtie, and plaine ſpeakers, but colde, lowſe, and rough writers. And *Tullie* telleth the cauſe why; ſaying, when they ſpake, their tonge was naturally carried with full tyde and wynde of their witte; when they wrote, their head was ſolitarie, dull, and caulme; and ſo their ſtyle was blonte, and their writing colde. *Quod vitium*, ſaith *Cicero*, *peringenioſis hominibus, neque ſatis doctis, plerumque accidit.*

And therefore all quicke inventors, and readie faire ſpeakers, muſt be carefull, that, to their goodneſs of nature, they adde alſo in any

* Biſhop *Burnet*, in his character of him, ſays, *he had a good ſtile in Latin, and underſtood the Greek well.* Something of his abilities may be ſeen in that famous controverſy, about the true pronunciation of the *Greek* tongue; which was managed by him, as *Chancellor*, and by Mr. *Cheke*, and ſome other learned gentlemen of *Cambridge*, at that time.

† "Quid igitur, inquit, eſt cauſæ, Brutus, ſi tanta virtus in oratore Galba fuit, cur ea "nulla in orationibus ejus appareat?" To this queſtion of *Brutus*, amongſt other things, *Tully* makes this reply:

"Nec enim eſt eadem, inquam, Brute, cauſa non ſcribendi, & non tam bene ſcribendi, "quàm dixerint. Nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil ſcripſiſſe, ne domeſticus etiam "labor accederet ad forenſem, pleræque enim ſcribuntur orationes habitæ jam, non ut habeantur. —— —— alios, quòd melius putent dicere ſe poſſe, quàm ſcribere: *quod peringe-* "*nioſis hominibus, neque ſatis doctis, plerumque contigit, ut ipſi Galbæ.*

"Quem fortaſſe vis non ingenii ſolùm, ſed etiam animi, & naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut & incitata, & gravis, & vehemens eſſet oratio: dein cùm "otioſus ſtilum prehenderat, motuſque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem deſecerat, "flacceſſebat oratio: quod iis, qui limatius dicendi conſectantur genus, accidere non ſolet, "propterea quod prudentia nunquam deficit oratorem qua ille utens eodem modo poſſit & "dicere & ſcribere. Ardor animi non ſemper adeſt, iſque cum conſedit, omnis illa vis, & "quaſi flamma oratoris extinguitur. Hanc igitur ob cauſam videtur Lælii mens ſpirare etiam "in ſcriptis, Galbæ autem vis occidiſſe." *Cic. de claris Orat.*

wiſe ſtudie, labor, leaſure, learnyng, and judgement; and then they ſhall in deede paſſe all other, (as I know ſome do, in whome all thoſe qualities are fullie planted) or elſe, if they give over moch to their witte, and over little to their labor and learnyng, they will ſooneſt over reach in talke, and fardeſt come behinde in writing, whatſoever they take in hand. The method of *Epitome* is moſt neceſſarie for ſoch kinde of men. And thus much concerning the uſe, or miſuſe, of all kinde of *Epitomes* in matters of learnyng.

Imitatio.

Imitation * is a facultie to expreſſe livelie and perfitelie that example, which ye go about to folow. And of itſelfe it is large and wide; for all the works of nature, in a manner, be examples for arte to folow.

But to our purpoſe: All languages, both learned, and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onlie by *Imitation*. For as ye uſe to heare, ſo ye learne to ſpeake. If ye heare no other, ye ſpeake not your ſelfe; and whom ye onlie heare, of them ye onlie learne.

And therefore, if ye would ſpeake as the beſt and wiſeſt do, ye muſt be converſant where the beſt and wiſeſt are: but if you be borne, or brought up in a rude contrie, ye ſhall not choſe but ſpeak rudelie. The rudeſt man of all knoweth this to be trewe.

Yet neverthelefſe, the rudenes of common and mother tonges is no bar for wiſe ſpeaking. For in the rudeſt contrie, and moſt barbarous mother language, many be founde that can ſpeake verie wiſelie: but in the *Greke* and *Latin* tonges, the two onelie learned tonges, which be kept not in common taulke, but in private bookes; we find alwaies wiſdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never, or ſeldom aſonder. For all ſuch authors as be fulleſt of good matter, and right judgement in doctrine, be likewiſe alwaies moſt proper in wordes, moſt apt in ſentence, moſt plaine and pure in uttering the ſame.

* "Imitatio eſt, quâ impellimur cum diligenti ratione, ut aliquorum ſimiles in dicendo "velimus eſſe." *Auctor ad Herennium.*

And contrariwiſe, in thoſe two tonges, all writers, either in religion, or anie ſect of philoſophie, whoſoever be found fonde in judgement of matter, be commonlie found as rude in uttering their myndes. For ſtoickes, anabaptiſts, and friers, with epicures, libertines, and monkes, being moſt like in learnyng and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writinges. They be not wiſe therefore that ſay, "What care I for a mans wordes "and utterance, if his matter and reaſons be good?" Soch men ſay ſo, not ſo much of ignorance, as eyther of ſome ſingular pride in themſelves, or ſome ſpeciall malice of others, or ſome private and parciall matter, either in religion, or other kind of learnyng. For good and choice meates be no more requiſite for healthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters; and alſo plaine and ſenſible utterance for the beſt and deepeſt reaſons: "in which two pointes ſtandeth per-"fite eloquence, one of the faireſt and rareſt giftes that God doth give "to man."

Ye know not what hurte ye do to learnyng, that care not for wordes, but for matter; and ſo make a divorſe betwixt the tonge and the hart. For mark all ages, looke upon the whole courſe of both the *Greke* and *Latin* tonges, and ye ſhall ſurelie finde, that, when apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and properties of thoſe two tonges to be confounded, then alſo began ill deedes to ſpring; ſtrange maners to oppreſſe good orders; newe and fonde opinions to ſtrive with old and trewe doctrine, firſt in philoſophie, and after in religion; right judgement of all thinges to be perverted, and ſo vertue with learnyng is contemned, and ſtudie left off. "Of ill thoughtes commeth perverſe judge-"ment; of ill deedes ſpringeth lewde taulke." Which fower miſorders, as they mar mans life, ſo deſtroy they good learnyng withall.

But beholde the goodneſſe of Gods providence for learnyng: all olde authors, and ſects of philoſophie, which were fondeſt in opinion, and rudeſt in utterance, as ſtoickes, and epicures, firſt contemned of wiſe men, and after forgotten of all men, be * ſo conſumed by tyme, as they

* This remark of Mr. *Aſcham*'s muſt neceſſarily be reſtrained and limited to the *Grecian* writers, and to thoſe only who flouriſhed when their language was brought to its greateſt perfection.

they be now not onlie out of uſe, but alſo out of memorie of man. Which thing, I ſurelie thinke, will ſhortelie chance to the whole doctrine and all the bookes of phantaſtical anabaptiſtes and friers, and of the beaſtlie libertines and monkes.

Againe, behold on the other ſide, how Gods wiſdome hath wrought, that of *Academici* and *Peripatetici*, thoſe that were wiſeſt in judgement of matters, and pureſt in uttering their myndes, the firſt and chiefeſt, that wrote moſt and beſt in either tonge, (as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* in *Greeke*, and *Tullie* in *Latin)* be ſo either wholie, or ſufficientlie left unto us, " as I never knew yet ſcholer, that gave himſelfe to like, and " love, and folow chieflie thoſe three authors, but he proved both " learned, wiſe, and alſo an honeſt man; if he joyned withall the trewe " doctrine of Gods holie Bible; without the which, the other three " be but fine edge tools in a fools or mad mans hand."

But to returne to *Imitation* againe: there be three kindes of it in matters of learnyng.

The whole * doctrine of comedies and tragedies, is a perfite *Imitation*, or faire livelie painted picture of the life of everie degree of man. Of this *Imitation* writeth *Plato* at large, in his third booke *de Republica*; but it doth not moch belong at this time to our purpoſe.

The ſecond kind of *Imitation*, is to folow, for learnyng of tonges and ſciences, the beſt authors. Here riſeth amonges proude and envious

fection. For *Antoninus* in the *Greek* tongue, and *Lucretius* and *Seneca* in the *Latin*, (authors that juſtly deſerve our notice) are ſtill perfect and entire. But that theſe ſects were moſt remarkably careleſs in their ſtile and language, is plain enough from the conſtant teſtimony of all the ancients, who have had occaſion to mention theſe things.

Thus *Dionyſius Halicarn.* of the Stoicks, in his book περὶ Συνθέσεως, pag. 40. Ἀπόχρη δὲ τεκμηρίῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ· περαιτέρω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προβάιην. τούτου γὰρ οὔτε ἄμεινον οὐδεὶς τὰς Διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν, οὔτε χείρονι ἁρμονίᾳ συνταχθέντας ἐξήνεγκε λόγους, τῶν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης ἀξιωθέντων. And afterwards, in the ſame excellent treatiſe, with reſpect to the Epicurean tribe; Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χορὸν, οἷς οὐδὲν μέλει τούτων, παραιτούμεθα.

* Ἐποποιΐα δὴ, καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις, ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ, καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς, ἡ πλείστη καὶ κιθαριστικῆς, πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον. Ariſt. περὶ Ποιητικῆς, ſtatim ab initio.

wittes a great controverſie; whether one, or many are to be folowed: and if one, who is that one; *Seneca*, *Cicero*, *Saluſt*, or *Cæſar*, and ſo forth, in *Greeke* and *Latin*.

The third kinde of *Imitation* belongeth to the ſecond; as when you be determined, whether ye will folow one, or mo, to know perfitlie, and which way, to folow that one; in what place; by what meane and order; by what tooles and inſtrumentes ye ſhall do it; by what ſkill and judgement ye ſhall trewlie diſcerne, whether ye folow rightlie or no.

This *Imitatio* is *diſſimilis materiei ſimilis tractatio*; and alſo, *ſimilis materiei diſſimilis tractatio*; as *Virgil* folowed *Homer*: but the argument to the one was *Ulyſſes*; to the other, *Æneas*. *Tullie* perſecuted *Antonie* with the ſame wepons of eloquence, that *Demoſthenes* uſed before againſt *Philippe*.

Horace foloweth *Pindar*, but either of them his owne argument and perſon: as the one, *Hiero* king of *Sicilie*; the other, *Auguſtus* the emperor: and yet both for like reſpectes; that is, for their coragious ſtoutnes in warre, and juſt government in peace.

One of the beſt examples for right *Imitation*, we lacke, and that is *Menander*; whom our *Terence*, as the matter required, in like argument, in the ſame perſons, with equal eloquence, foote by foote did folow. Some peeces remaine, * like broken jewelles, whereby men may rightlie eſteeme, and juſtlie lament, the loſſe of the whole.

Eraſmus, the ornament of learnyng in our tyme, doth wiſh that ſome man of learnyng and diligence, † would take the like paines in *Demoſthenes* and *Tullie*, that *Macrobius* hath done in *Homer* and *Virgil*; that

* A collection of theſe remains have been ſometime ſince publiſhed, together with thoſe of *Philemon*, by Mr. *Le Clerke*, who amidſt his great learning, did not think 'em beneath his care.

† "Elegans interim fuerit exercitatio, quod à veteribus nonnullis factum eſt in *Homero* ac "*Virgilio*, ſiquis idem faciat in *Demoſthene* et *M. Tullio*, ut ex collatione locorum deprehendat, "quid hic ab illo ſit mutuatus, & ubi noſter ſit *Græco* par, ubi ſuperior, ubi ab exemplari non-"nihil degeneret imitatio. Vix alia res æquè conducit ad parandum judicium." *Eraſmus*, *Lib.* 28. *Ep.* 26.

is, to write out and joyne together, where the one doth imitate the other. *Eraſmus* wiſhe is good; but ſurelie it is not good enough. For *Macrobius* gatherings for the *Æncodos*, out of *Homer*, and *Eobanus Heſſus* more diligent gatherings for the *Bucolikes*, out of *Theocritus*, as they be not fullie taken out of the whole heape, as they ſhould be, but even as though they had not ſought for them of purpoſe, but found them ſcattered here and there by chance in their way; even ſo, onelie to point out, and nakedlie to joine together their ſentences, with no furder declaring the maner and way how the one doth folow the other, were but a colde helpe to the encreaſe of learnyng.

But if a man would take this paines alſo, when he hath layd two places of *Homer* and *Virgil*, or of *Demoſthenes* and *Tullie* together, to teach plainlie withall, after this ſort:

1. *Tullie* reteyneth thus moch of the matter, thies ſentences, thies wordes.

2. This, and that he leaveth out; which he doth wittilie to this end and purpoſe.

3. This he addeth here:

4. This he diminiſheth there:

5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there:

6. This he altereth and changeth, either in propertie of wordes, in forme of ſentence, in ſubſtance of the matter, or in one, or other convenient circumſtance of the authors preſent purpoſe.

In thies fewe rude *Engliſh* wordes, are wrapt up all the neceſſarie tooles and inſtrumentes, wherewith trewe *Imitation* is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confeſſe, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left unto me by the cunningeſt maſter, and one of the worthieſt jentlemen, that ever *Englande* bred, Syr *John Cheke*; partlie borowed by me out of the ſhoppe of the deareſt frende I have out of

of *Englande*, *Joh. Sturmius*. And therefore I am the bolder to borow of him, and here to leave them to others, and namelie to my children. Which tooles, if it pleaſe God, that another day they may be able to uſe rightlie, as I do wiſhe, and daylie pray they may do, I ſhall be more glad, than if I were able to leave them a great quantitie of land.

This foreſaide order and doctrine of *Imitation*, would bring forth more learnyng, and breed up trewer judgement, than any other exerciſe that can be uſed; but not for yong beginners, bicauſe they ſhall not be able to conſider dulie thereof. And trewlie it may be a ſhame to good ſtudentes, who having ſo faire examples to folow, as *Plato* and *Tullie*, do not uſe ſo wiſe wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wiſdome and learnyng, as rude ignorant artificers do for gayning a ſmall commoditie. For ſurelie the meaneſt painter uſeth more witte, better arte, greater diligence in his ſhoppe, in folowing the picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the beſt ſtudents do, even in the univerſitie, for the atteyning of learnyng itſelfe.

Some ignorant, unlearned, and idle ſtudent, or ſome buſie looker upon this litle poore booke; that hath neither will to do good himſelfe, nor ſkill to judge right of others, but can luſtelie contemne, by pride and ignorance, all painful diligence, and right order in ſtudy; * will perchance ſay, that I am to preciſe, to curious in marking and pidling thus about the *Imitation* of others; and that the old and worthie authors did not buſie their heades and wittes, in folowing ſo preciſelie either the matter, what other men wrote, or els the maner, how other men wrote. They will ſay, "It were a plain ſlaverie, and injurie to, "to ſhakkle and tye a good witte, and hinder the courſe of a mans "good nature with ſuch bondes of ſervitude, in folowing others." Except ſoch men thinke themſelves wiſer than *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they muſt be content to turne a new leafe.

The beſt booke that ever *Tullie* wrote, by all mens judgement, and

* See what *Dionyſius Halic.* ſays on the like occaſion: Ὑφορῶμαί τινα πρὸς ταῦτα καταδρομὴν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀπείρων, τὸ δὲ ἀγοραῖον τῆς Ῥητορικῆς μέρος ὁδῷ τε καὶ πέχνης χωρὶς ἐπιτηδευόντων. *De Structura Orationis* pag. 240.

by

by his owne teſtimonie to, in writing whereof he employed moſt care, ſtudie, learnyng, and judgement, is his booke *de Oratore ad Q. Fratrem.* Now let us ſee, what he did for the matter, and alſo for the maner of writing thereof. For the whole booke conſiſteth in theſe two pointes onelie; in good matter, and good handling of the matter. And firſt, for the matter; it is whole *Ariſtotles*, whatſoever *Antonie* in the ſecond, and *Craſſus* in the third, doth teach. Truſt not me, but believe *Tullie* himſelfe, who writeth ſo; firſt, in that * goodlie long epiſtle *ad Pub. Lentulum*; and after in diverſe places *ad Atticum.* And in the verie booke itſelfe, *Tullie* will not have it hidden; but both *Catulus* and *Craſſus* do oft, and pleaſantly lay that ſtelth to *Antonius* charge. Now for the handling of the matter; was *Tullie* ſo preciſe and curious, rather to follow another mans paterne, than to invent ſome new ſhape himſelfe, namelie in that booke, wherein he purpoſed to leave to poſteritie the glorie of his witte? Yea forſooth, that he did. And this is not my geſſing and gathering; nor onelie performed by *Tullie* in very deed, but uttered alſo by *Tullie* in plaine wordes; to teach other men thereby, what they ſhould do, in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is ſpecially to be marked, *Tullie* doth utter plainlie his conceit and purpoſe therein, by the mouth of the wiſeſt man in all that companie: for † ſayth *Scævola* himſelfe, *Cur non imitamur Craſſe, Socratem illum, qui eſt in Phædro Platonis? &c.*

And furder to underſtand, that *Tullie* did not *obiter*, and by chance, but purpoſelie and mindfullie bend himſelfe to a preciſe and curious imitation of *Plato*, concernyng the ſhape and forme of thoſe bookes; marke,

* "Quod rogas, ut mea tibi ſcripta mittam, quæ poſt diſceſſum tuum ſcripſerim: ſunt orationes quædam, quas Menocrito dabo: neque ita multæ; ne pertimeſcas. Scripſi etiam (nam ab orationibus dijungo me ferè, referoque ad manſuetiores Muſas: quæ me maximè, ſicut jam à prima adoleſcentia delectarunt) ſcripſi igitur Ariſtoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in diſputatione ac dialogo *de Oratore*, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorent enim à communibus præceptis: ac omnem antiquorum, & Ariſtoteleam, & Iſocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur." *Epiſt. Fam. Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 9.

† "Poſtero autem die, cùm illi majores natu ſatis quieſſent, & in ambulationem ventum eſſet; dicebat tum Scævolam duobus ſpatiis tribuſve factis, dixiſſe, Cur non imitamur," &c. *De Orat. Lib.* 1.

I pray you, how curious *Tullie* is to utter his purpoſe, and doyng therein, writing ‡ thus to *Atticus :*

Quod in iis Oratoriis libris, quos laudas, perſonam deſideras Scævolæ ; non eam temere dimovi : ſed feci idem, quod in Πολιτεία *deus ille noſter Plato. Cum in Piræeum Socrates veniſſet ad Cephalum, locupletem & feſtivum ſenem ; quoad primus ille ſermo haberetur, adeſt in diſputando ſenex : deinde cum ipſe quoque commodiſſimè locutus eſſet, ad rem divinam dicit ſe velle diſcedere ; neque poſtea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putaſſe ſatis conſonum fore, ſi hominem id ætatis in tam longo ſermone diutius retinuiſſet. Multo ego ſatius hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scævola : qui & ætate, & valitudine erat ea, qua eſſe meminiſti ; & iis honoribus, ut vix ſatis decorum videretur, eum plures dies eſſe in Craſſi Tuſculano. Et erat primi libri ſermo non alienus à Scævolæ ſtudiis : reliqui libri* Τεχνολογίαν *habent, ut ſcis. Huic joculatoriæ diſputationi ſenem illum, ut noras, intereſſe ſane nolui.*

If *Cicero* had not opened himſelfe, and declared hys owne thought and doynges herein, men that be idle, and ignorant, and envious of other mens diligence, and well doinges, would have ſworne, that *Tullie* had never mynded any ſoch thing; but that, of a preciſe curioſitie, we fayne and forge, and father ſoch thinges of *Tullie*, as he never ment indeed. I write this not for nought: for I have heard ſome, both well learned, and otherwayes verie wiſe, that by their luſtie miſliking of ſoch diligence, have drawen back the forwardnes of verie good wittes. But even as ſoch men themſelves do ſometymes ſtumble upon doing well by chance, and benefite of good witte ; ſo would I have our ſcholer alwayes able to do well by order of learnyng, and right ſkill of judgement.

Concernyng *Imitation*, many learned men have written, with moch diverſitie for the matter; and therefore with great contrarietie, and ſome ſtomacke amongeſt themſelves. I have read as many as I could get, diligentlie; and what I thinke of everie one of them, I will freely ſay my mynde. With which freedome I truſt good men will beare, becauſe it ſhall tend to neither ſpitefull nor harmefull controverſie.

‡ This citation is taken out of *Tully*'s fourth book of Epiſtles to *Atticus*, Ep. 16.

In

Cicero. In *Tullie* it is well touched, ſhortlie taught, * not fullie declared by *Antonius* in the ſecond booke *de Oratore*; and afterward in *Oratore ad Brutum*, for the liking and miſliking of *Iſocrates*: and the contrarie judgement of *Tullie* againſt *Calvus*, *Brutus*, and *Calidius*, *de genere dicendi Attico & Aſiatico*.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* περὶ Μιμήσεως, † I feare is loſt; which author next *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and *Tullie*, of all others that write of eloquence, by the judgement of them that be beſt learned, deſerveth the next prayſe and place.

Quintilian. *Quintilian* ‡ writeth of it ſhortlie, and coldlie for the matter, yet hotlie and ſpitefullie enough agaynſt the imitation of *Tullie*.

* "Ergo hoc ſit primum in præceptis meis, ut demonſtremus, quem imitetur; atque ita, "ut, quæ maximè excellant in eo quem imitabitur, ea diligentiſſimè perſequatur: tum ac- "cedat exercitatio, qua illum, quem antè delegerit, imitando effingat, atque ita exprimat, "non ut multos imitatores ſæpe cognovi, qui aut ea, quæ facilia ſunt, aut etiam illa, quæ "inſignia, ac pænè vitioſa, conſectantur imitando." *De Orat. lib.* 2.

"Atticos, inquit, volo imitari. quos? nec enim eſt unum genus. Nam quid eſt tam "diſſimile, quàm Demoſthenes & Lyſias? quàm idem, & Hyperides? quàm omnium ho- "rum Æſchines? Quem igitur imitaris? Si aliquem, cæteri ergo Atticè non dicebant ſi "omnes; quî potes, cùm ſint ipſi diſſimillimi inter ſe?" *Cic. de claris Orat.*

† This book of imitation *Dionyſius* divided into three parts: the firſte contained the whole queſtion concerning imitation; the ſecond, what authors in poetry, philoſophy, hiſtory, and oratory, were to be imitated; the third, how this imitation was to be performed: which laſt book, he tells us, he had not finiſhed at the time he gives us this account of it.

Dionyſius's words are theſe, though corrupt enough, in his epiſtle to *Cn. Pompey*, p. 206. of the learned Dr. *Hudſon*'s edition. I ſhall cite them as I think they ought to be read. Πεποίηκα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπομνηματισμοῖς περὶ Μιμήσεως. Τούτων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, αὐτὴν περιείληφε τὴν περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ζήτησιν· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, περὶ τοῦ, τίνας ἄνδρας μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ, ποιητάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους καὶ ῥήτορας· ὁ δὲ τρίτος, περὶ τοῦ, πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ οὗτος ἀτελής.

‡ "Ante omnia igitur imitatio per ſe ipſa non ſufficit; vel quia pigri eſt ingenii, conten- "tum eſſe iis, quæ ſunt ab aliis inventa. Quid enim futurum erat temporibus illis, quæ ſine "exemplo fuerunt, ſi homines nihil niſi quod jam cognoviſſent, faciendum ſibi aut cogitan- "dum putaſſent? nempe nihil fuiſſet inventum ——— ———

"Itaque ne hoc quidem ſuaſerim, uni ſe alicui propriè, quem per omnia ſequatur, addi- "cere. Longè perfectiſſimus Græcorum Demoſthenes, aliquid tamen aliquo in loco melius "alii. Plurima ille: ſed non qui maximè imitandus, etiam ſolus imitandus eſt. Quid er- "go? non eſt ſatis omnia ſic dicere, quomodo Marcus Tullius dixit? mihi quidem ſatis eſ- "ſet, ſi omnia conſequi poſſem. Quid tamen nocet, vim Cæſaris, aſperitatem Cælii, dili- "gentiam Pollionis, judicium Calvi, quibuſdam in locis aſſumere?" *Quint. de Inſt. Orat. lib.* 10.

Eraſmus, beyng more occupied in ſpying other mens faultes, than declaryng his owne adviſe, is miſtaken of many, to the great hurt of ſtudie for his authoritie ſake. For he writeth rightlie, rightlie underſtanded; * he and *Longolius* onelie differing in this, that the one ſeemeth to give overmoch, the other over litle, to him, whom they both beſt loved, and chiefly allowed of all others. Eraſmus.

Budæus in his commentaries roughlie and obſcurelie, after his kinde of writyng: and for the matter, caryed ſomewhat out of the way in overmuch miſliking the imitation of *Tullie*. Budæus.

Philip Melanćthon, learnedlie and trewlie. Phil. Melanćthon.

Joach. Camerarius largely with a learned judgement, but ſomewhat confuſedly, and with over rough a ſtile. Joa. Camer.

Sambucus largely, † with a right judgement, but ſomewhat a crooked ſtile. Sambucus.

* *Eraſmus* in his epiſtles frequently mentions *Longolius*, who was a *Hollander* by birth, and one who in his writings applied himſelf with utmoſt care and induſtry, to the imitation of *Tully*. "Quid hic commemorem Longolium, qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem exprimeret; nec infeliciter ceſſit conatus?" *Lib.* 27. *ep.* 38. He died at *Padua* about the age of thirty.

Of the difference that happened betwixt himſelf and *Longolius*, *Eraſmus* gives us ſome account in his letter to *Alciatus*, *lib.* 21. *ep.* 38. wherein he has this ſevere remark upon thoſe ſlaviſh imitators, the *Ciceronianiſts* of that age.

"Exorta eſt nova ſecta *Ciceronianorum* quæ mihi videtur non minus fervere iſtic, quam apud nos Lutheranorum. Poſthac non licebit Epiſcopos appellare *Patres reverendos*, nec in calce literarum ſcribere *annum a Chriſto nato*, quòd id nuſquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius; quàm toto ſeculo novato, religione, imperiis, magiſtratibus, locorum vocabulis, ædificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui, quàm locutus eſt Cicero? Si reviviſcerit ipſe Cicero, rideret hoc *Ciceronianorum* genus."

And in his letter to *Franciſcus Vergera*, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Hæc, mi Franciſce, non eo ſpectant, ut alius ſit magis proponendus eloquentiæ candidatis, quàm Cicero; ſed iſtos ut rideam ſimios, quibus nihil pulchrum, niſi quod Ciceronem refert; quum nulla fuerit unquam forma tam felix, in qua nihil deſideres. Ut formæ pictor, ita dictionis rhetor, abſolutum exemplum à multis petat oportet."

† "Sambucus tres dialogos conſcripſit de Imitatione à Cicerone petenda." Concerning *Corteſius*, ſee the eighth book of *Politian*'s epiſtles.

Corteſius. P. Bembus. Joan. Sturmius.

Others have written alſo, as *Corteſius* to *Politian*, and that verie well: *Bembus ad Picum*, a great deale better; but *Joan. Sturmius, de Nobilitate literata, & de Amiſſa dicendi ratione*, farre beſt of all, in myne opinion, that ever tooke this matter in hand. For all the reſt declare chieflie this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but *Sturmius* onelie hath moſt learnedlie declared, "Who is to be followed; what "is to be followed; and the beſt point of all, by what way and order "trew *Imitation* is rightlie to be exerciſed." And although *Sturmius* herein doth farre paſſe all other; yet hath he not ſo fullie and perfitlie done it, as I do wiſhe he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfitlie for precept, yet he hath not done it perfitlie enough for example. Which he did, neither for lacke of ſkill, nor by negligence, but of purpoſe, contented with one or two examples; bicauſe he was mynded in thoſe two bookes, to write of it both ſhortlie, and alſo had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrarienſis alſo * hath written learnedlie, diligentlie, and verie largelie of this matter; even as he did before very well, *de Apparatu Latinæ Locutionis*. He writeth the better in myne opinion, bicauſe his whole doctrine, judgement, and order, ſemeth to be borrowed out of *Joan. Sturmius* bookes. He addeth alſo examples, the beſt kinde of teaching; wherein he doth well, but not well enough: indeede he committeth no fault, but yet deſerveth ſmall praiſe. He is content with the meane, and followeth not the beſt: as a man, that would feede † upon acornes, when he may eate, as good cheape, the fineſt wheat bread.

He teacheth for example, where, and how, two or three late *Italian* poetes do follow *Virgil*; and how *Virgil* himſelfe in the ſtorie of *Dido*, doth whollie imitate *Catullus* in the like matter of *Ariadne*. Wherein I like better his diligence, and order of teaching, than his judgement in choice of examples for *Imitation*. But if he had done thus; if he had

*. This work *Riccius* publiſhed under this title, *De Imitatione Libri tres*.

† The ſame proverbial expreſſion we meet with a little after in this book. The commentators ſeem very fond of it: "Poſt fruges inventas veſci glandibus: ἄνδρες βαλανηφάγοι. "*Et cùm ſiligineus domi ſit panis, emendicato furfure magis veſcimur.*" Ang. Politianus.

declared, where, and how; how oft, and how many wayes, *Virgil* doth folow *Homer*; as for example, the coming of *Ulyſſes* to *Alcynous*, and *Calypſo*, with the coming of *Æneas* to *Carthage*, and *Dido*: likewiſe the games, running, wreſtling, and ſhooting, that *Achilles* maketh in *Homer*, with the ſelfe ſame games that *Æneas* maketh in *Virgil*: the harneſſe of *Achilles*, with the harneſſe of *Æneas*; and the manner of making them both by *Vulcane*: the notable combate betwixt *Achilles* and *Hector*, with as notable a combate betwixt *Æneas* and *Turnus*: the going downe to hell of *Ulyſſes* in *Homer*, with the going downe to hell of *Æneas* in *Virgil*; and other places infinite mo, as ſimilitudes, narrations, meſſages, deſcriptions of perſones, places, battles, tempeſts, ſhip wrackes, and common places for divers purpoſes; which be as preciſely taken out of *Homer*, as ever did painter in *London* follow the picture of any faire perſonage. And when thies places had been gathered together by this way of diligence, then to have conferred them together by this order of teaching; " as diligently to marke what is kept and uſed in either " author, in wordes, in ſentences, in matter; what is added; what is " left out; what ordered otherwiſe, either *præponendo*, *interponendo*, or " *poſtponendo*; and what is altered for any reſpect, in worde, phraſe, " ſentence, figure, reaſon, argument, or by any way of circumſtance." If *Riccius* had done this, he had not onlie bene well liked for his diligence in teaching, but alſo juſtlie commended for his right judgement in right choice of examples for the beſt *Imitation*.

Riccius alſo for *Imitation* of proſe declareth, where, and how, *Longolius* doth folow *Tullie*: but as for *Longolius*, I would not have him the patern of our *Imitation*. Indeede in *Longolius* ſhoppe, be proper and faire ſhewing colors; but as for ſhape, figure, and naturall comlineſs, by the judgement of beſt judging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withall, than ſpeciallie commended, as one chieflie to be folowed.

If *Riccius* had taken for his examples, where *Tullie* himſelfe foloweth either *Plato* or *Demoſthenes*, he had ſhot then at the right marke. But to excuſe *Riccius* ſomwhat, though I cannot fullie defend him, it may be ſayd, his purpoſe was, to teach onelie the *Latin* tonge; when thys way that I do wiſhe, to joyne *Virgil* with *Homer*, to read *Tullie* with *Demoſthenes*

benes and *Plato*, requireth a cunning and perfite maſter in both the tonges. It is my wiſhe indeede, and that by good reaſon: for whoſoever will write well of any matter, muſt labor to expreſs that, that is perfite; and not to ſtay and content himſelfe with the meane: yea, I ſay farder, though it be not unpoſſible, yet it is verie rare, and marvelous hard, to prove excellent in the *Latin* tonge, for him that is not alſo well ſeene in the *Greeke* tonge. *Tullie* himſelfe, moſt excellent of nature, moſt diligent in labor, brought up from his cradle in that place, and in that tyme, where and when the *Latin* tonge moſt flouriſhed naturallie in every mans mouth; yet was not his owne tonge able itſelfe to make him ſo cunning in his owne tonge, as he was indeede; but the knowledge, and *Imitation* of the *Greeke* tonge withall. This he confeſſeth himſelfe; this he uttereth in many places, as thoſe can tell beſt, that uſe to read him moſt.

Therefore thou, that ſhooteſt at perfection in the *Latin* tonge, thinke not thy ſelfe wiſer than *Tullie* was, in choice of the way that leadeth rightlie to the fame: thinke not thy witte better than *Tullies* was, as though that may ſerve thee, that was not ſufficient for him. For even as a hauke flieth not hie with one wing, even ſo a man reacheth not to excellency with one tonge.

I have bene a looker on in the cockpit of learnyng thies many yeares; and one cock onelie have I knowne, which with one wing, even at this day, doth paſſe all other, in myne opinion, that ever I ſaw in any pitte in *Englande*, though they had two winges. Yet nevertheleſſe, to flie well with one wing, * to runne faſt with one leg, be rather rare maſteries moch to be marvelled at, than ſure examples ſafelie to be followed. A buſhop that now liveth, a good man, whoſe judgement in religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitneſs in other learnyng, ſaid once unto me; "We have no nede now of the *Greeke* tonge, when "all thinges be tranſlated into *Latin*." But the good man underſtood not, that even the beſt tranſlation, is for mere neceſſitie but an evill imped wing to flie withall, or a heavie ſtompe leg of wood to go with-

* *Habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladæ,*
Inepte, fruſtra crure lignea curres. Martial, lib. x. epigr. 82.

all.

all. Such, the hier they flie, the ſooner they falter and fail: the faſter they runne, the ofter they ſtumble, and ſorer they fall. Soch as will nedes ſo flie, may flie at a pye, and catch a dawe: and ſoch runners, as commonlie they, ſhove, and ſholder, to ſtand formoſt, yet in the end they come behind others, and deſerve but the hopſhakles, if the maſters of the game be right judgers.

Optima ratio imitationis.

Therefore in peruſing thus ſo many diverſe bookes for *Imitation*, it came into my head, that a verie profitable booke might be made *de Imitatione*, after another ſort, than ever yet was attempted of that matter, conteyning a certeyne fewe fitte preceptes, unto which ſhould be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choiceſt authors of both the tonges. This worke would ſtand rather in good diligence for the gathering, and right judgement for the apte applying of thoſe examples, than any great learnyng, or utterance at all.

The doing thereof would be more pleaſant than painfull, and would bring alſo moch proffet to all that ſhold read it, and great praiſe to him that would take it in hand, with juſt deſert of thankes.

Eraſmus order in his ſtudie.

Eraſmus, giving himſelfe * to read over all authors *Greke* and *Latin*, ſeemeth to have preſcribed to himſelfe this order of reading; that is, to note out by the way three ſpecial pointes, all adagies, all ſimilitudes, and all wittie ſayinges of moſt notable perſonages. And ſo, by one labor, he left to poſteritie three notable bookes, and namelie two, his *Chiliades*, *Apophthegmata*, and *Similia*. Likewiſe, if a good ſtudent would bend himſelfe to read diligentlie over *Tullie*, and with him alſo at the ſame tyme, as diligentlie *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, with his bookes of philoſophie; *Iſocrates*, and *Demoſthenes* with his orations, and *Ariſtotle* with his Rhetorickes, (which five of all others, be thoſe whom *Tullie* beſt loved, and ſpecially followed) and would marke diligentlie in *Tullie*, where he doth *exprimere*, or *effingere* (which be the verie proper wordes of *Imitation*) either *copiam Platonis*, or *venuſtatem Xenophontis*, *ſuavitatem Iſocratis*, or *vim Demoſthenis*, *propriam & puram ſubtilitatem Ariſtote-*

Cicero.
Plato.
Xenophon.
Iſocrates.
Demoſthenes.
Ariſtotle.

* "Ille (*Eraſmus*) genus omne perluſtrans autorum, Adagia vetera, pœne tot ænigmatum "ſpecies reddentia, et graves lectoribus offundentia tenebras, induſtriâ mirificâ, velut alter "Oedipus, ſtudioſis enarravit." *Tonſtalli epiſtola ad Budæum.*

lis;

lis; and not onelie write out the places diligentlie, and lay them together orderlie, but alſo conferre them with ſkilfull judgement by thoſe few rules, which I have expreſſed now twice before: if that diligence were taken, if that order were uſed, what perfite knowledge of both the tonges, what readie and pithie utterance in all matters, what right and deepe judgement in all kinde of learnyng would follow, is ſcarce credible to be believed.

Theſe bookes be not many, nor long, nor rude in ſpeech, nor meane in matter; but next the majeſtie of Gods holie word, moſt worthie for a man, the lover of learnyng and honeſtie, to ſpend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthie M. *Cheke* many times ſay; "I would have a "good ſtudent paſſe and jorney through all authors both *Greke* and "*Latin*." But he that will dwell in theſe few bookes onelie; firſt, in Gods Holie Bible, and then join with it *Tullie* in *Latin*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Xenophon*, *Iſocrates*, and *Demoſthenes*, in *Greke*, muſt nedes prove an excellent man.

Perionius. H. Steph. P. Victorius.

Some men alreadie in our dayes, have put to their helping handes to this worke of *Imitation*; as *Perionius*, *Hen. Stephanus* in *dictionario Ciceroniano*, and *Pet. Victorius* moſt praiſe worthie of all, in that his learned worke conteynyng twentie five bookes *de Varia Lectione*; in which bookes be joyned diligentlie together, the beſt authors of both the tonges, where one doth ſeeme to imitate another.

But all theſe, with *Macrobius*, *Heſſus*, and other, be no more but common porters, caryers, and bringers of matter and ſtuffe together. They order nothing; they lay before you what is done; they do not teach you how it is done. They buſie not themſelves with forme of building; they do not declare this ſtuffe is thus framed by *Demoſthenes*, and thus and thus by *Tullie*; and ſo likewiſe in *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Iſocrates*, and *Ariſtotle*. For joyning *Virgil* with *Homer*, I have ſufficientlie declared before.

Pindar. Horace.

The like diligence I would wiſhe to be taken in *Pindar* and *Horace*, an equal match for all reſpectes.

In

In tragedies, (the goodlieſt argumente of all, and for the uſe either of a learned preacher, or a civill jentleman, * more profitable than *Homer*, *Pindar*, *Virgil* and *Horace*; yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*) the *Grecians*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, far over match our *Seneca* in *Latin*, namely in Οἰκονομίᾳ & *Decoro*: although *Senecas* elocution and verſe be verie commendable † for his tyme. And for the matters of *Hercules*, *Thebais*, *Hippolytus*, and *Troas*, his imitation is to be gathered into the ſame booke, and to be tryed by the ſame touchſtone, as is ſpoken before. Sophocles. Euripides. Seneca.

In hiſtories, and namelie in *Livie*, the like diligence of imitation, could bring excellent learnyng, and breede ſtayde judgement in taking any like matter in hand.

Onely *Livie* were a ſufficient taſke for one mans ſtudie, to compare him, firſt with his fellow for all reſpectes, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*; who both lived in one tyme, took both one hiſtorie in hand to write, deſerved both like prayſe of learnyng and eloquence: then with *Polybius*, that wiſe writer, whom *Livie* profeſſeth to folow; and if he would denie it, yet it is plaine, that the beſt part of the third *decade* in *Livie*, is in a manner tranſlated out of the thyrd, and reſt of *Polybius*: laſtlie with *Thucydides*, to whoſe imitation *Livie* is curiouſly bent; as may well appeare by that one oration of thoſe of *Campania*, aſking aide of Tit. Liv. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Polybius. Thucydides. 1 Decad. lib. 7.

* Our author ſeems to have borrow'd this obſervation from *Melanchon*. See his admirable epiſtle *de legendis Tragœdiis et comœdiis*; lib. 1mo epiſt.

" Hanc ſententiam *tragœdiæ* volunt omnium animis infigere, eſſe aliquam mentem æter-
" nam, quæ ſemper atrocia ſcelera inſignibus exemplis punit, moderatis verò et juſtis plerum-
" que dat tranquilliorem curſum.

" Quare tragœdiarum lectionem valdè utilem adoleſcentibus eſſe non dubium eſt, cùm ad
" commonefaciendos animos de multis vitæ officiis, et de frænandis immoderatis cupiditati-
" bus, tum verò etiam ad eloquentiam."

† There are many conjectures made by learned men, concerning the time when theſe tragedies were writ, and who their author was. Mr. *Aſcham*, by this expreſſion, ſeems to bring them lower than moſt do. We have *Eraſmus*'s opinion in theſe words. " Tacitus comme-
" morat illius (Senecæ) poemata, de quibus ſentiens, incertum. Nam tragœdiarum opus
" eruditi quidam malunt Senecæ filio tribuere, quàm huic: ſunt, qui fratri Senecæ adſcri-
" bant. Ex prima tragœdia verſus aliquot refert, *Duc me parens, ſummique dominator poli*,
" &c. Quanquam mihi videtur opus hoc tragœdiarum non eſſe unius hominis." *Lib.* 28. *ep.* 12.

the

Thucyd. lib. 1.

the *Romanes* againſt the *Samnites*; * which is wholie taken, ſentence, reaſon, argument, and order, out of the oration of *Corcyra*, aſking like aide of the *Athenienſes* againſt them of *Corinth*. If ſome diligent ſtudent would take paynes to compare them together, he ſhould eaſilie perceive, that I do ſay trew.

A booke thus wholie filled with examples of imitation, firſt out of *Tullie*, compared with *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Iſocrates*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Ariſtotle*; then out of *Virgil* and *Horace*, with *Homer* and *Pindar*; next out of *Seneca*, with *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; laſtlie out of *Livie*, with *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and *Halicarnaſſæus*, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I have expreſſed before, were another maner of worke for all kinde of learnyng, and namelie for eloquence, than be thoſe cold gatherings of *Macrobius*, *Heſſus*, *Pieronius*, *Stephanus*, and *Victorius*; which may be uſed (as I ſayd before) in this caſe, as porters and caryers, deſerving like prayſe, as ſoch men do wages; but onely *Sturmius* is he, out of whom the trew ſurvey, and whole workemanſhip, is ſpeciallie to be learned.

Opus de recta imitandi ratione.

I truſt, this my writing ſhall give ſome good ſtudent occaſion to take † ſome piece in hand of this worke of imitation. And as I had rather have any do it, than myſelfe, yet ſurelie myſelfe rather than none at all. And by Gods grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free leyſure and libertie, with good liking, and a merrie hart, I will turne the beſt part of my ſtudie and tyme, to toyle in one or other piece of this worke of imitation.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and underſtanding to good precepts, is no new invention, but ſpeciallie uſed of the beſt

* "Petitio Campanorum expreſſa eſt ex lib. 1. Thucydidis, quo in loco Corcyræi auxilium ab Athenienſibus petunt. Quod quiſque intelliget, qui utraſque orationes comparabit." *Sigonius.*

† Something of this nature has ſince been done by *Jacobus Tollius*, in his *Guſtus Criticarum Animadverſionum ad Longinum:* where he has with good judgment compared *Pindar* with *Horace*, *Theocritus* with *Virgil*, and *Apollonius* with *Ovid*; and ſome few more beſide. But had Mr. *Aſcham* liv'd, we ſhould certainly have ſeen a far more excellent performance on the ſubject.

authors

authors and oldeſt writers. For *Ariſtotle* himſelfe, as *Diogenes Laertius* declareth, when he had written that goodlie booke of the *Topickes*, did gather out of hiſtorians and orators, ſo many examples as filled fifteene bookes, onelie to expreſſe the rules of his *Topickes*. Theſe were the commentaries that *Ariſtotle* thought fit for his *Topickes*. And therefore, to ſpeake as I thinke, I never ſaw yet any commentarie upon *Ariſtotles* logicke, either in *Greke* or *Latin*, that ever I lyked; bicauſe they be rather ſpent in declaring ſchole poynt rules, than in gathering fitte examples for uſe and utterance, either by pen or talke. For precepts in all authors, and namelie in *Ariſtotle*, without applying unto them the imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therefore barrayn, unfruitfull, and unpleaſant. But *Ariſtotle*, namelie in his *Topickes*, and *Elenches*, ſhould be, not onelie fruitfull, but alſo pleaſant to, if examples out of *Plato*, and other good authors, were diligentlie gathered, and aptlie applied unto his moſt perfit preceptes there.

Ariſtoteles.

Commentarii Græci, & Latini in dialect. Ariſtotelis.

And it is notable, that my friende *Sturmius* writeth herein, that there is no precepte in *Ariſtotles Topickes*, whereof plentie of examples be not manifeſt in *Platos* workes. And I heare ſay, that an excellent learned man, *Tomitanus* in *Italie*, hath expreſſed everie fallacion in *Ariſtotle*, with diverſe examples out of *Plato*. Would to God, I might once ſee ſome worthie ſtudent of *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, in *Cambridge*, that would joyne in one booke, the preceptes of the one, with the examples of the other. For ſuch a labor were one ſpeciall peece of that worke of imitation, which I do wiſhe were gathered together in one volume.

Præcepta in Ariſtotele: exempla in Platone.

Cambridge, at my firſt comming thither, but not at my going away, committed this faulte in reading the preceptes of *Ariſtotle* without the examples of other authors. But herein, in my tyme, * thies men of worthie

* "Eo tempore Cantabrigiam venit, quo literæ & Græcæ, & Latinæ efflorescere, & præ-
" clara ſtudia in ea academia herbeſcere, & ad ſummum hujus regni ornamentum matureſcere
" cœperunt. Ea ætate poſtea floruit, quâ *Georgius Dajus*, *Joan. Redmannus*, *Rob. Pemberus*,
" *Tho. Smithus*, *Joan. Checus*, *Nic. Ridlæus*, *Edm. Grindallus*, *Tho. Watſonus*, *Gualterus Had-*
" *donus*, *Jacob. Pilkintonus*, *R. Hornus*, *Joan. Chriſtopherſonus*, *Tho. Wilſonus*, *Joan. Setonus*,
" & infiniti alii excellenti doctrina præditi, & perſpecta vitæ morumque probitate ornati,
" magna academiæ eo tempore lumina, maxima poſtea totius reipublicæ ornamenta, vigue-
" runt.

 " Hi

thie memorie, M. *Redman*, M. *Cheke*, M. *Smith*, M. *Haddon*, M. *Watſon*, put ſo to their helping handes, as that univerſitie, and all ſtudents there, as long as learnyng ſhall laſt, ſhall be bound unto them; if that trade in ſtudie be trewlie folowed, which thoſe men left behind them there.

By this ſmall mention of *Cambridge*, I am caryed into three imaginations: firſt, into a ſweete remembrance of my tyme ſpent there; then, into ſome carefull thoughts for the grevous alteration that folowed ſone after; laſtlie, into much joy, to heare tell of the good recoverie, and earneſt forwardnes in all good learnyng there agayne.

To utter theis my thoughts ſomwhat more largelie, were ſomwhat beſide my matter, yet not very farre out of the way; becauſe it ſhall wholy tend to the good encoragement and right conſideration of learnyng, which is my full purpoſe in writyng this little booke: whereby alſo ſhall well appeare this ſentence to be moſt trewe, "That onelie good "men, by their government and example, make happy tymes in everie "degree and ſtate."

Dr. Nicolas Medcalfe.

Dr. *Nicolas Medcalfe*, that honorable father, was maſter of S. *Johnes* colledge when I came thither; a man meanelie learned himſelfe, but not meanely affectioned to ſet forward learnyng in others. He found that colledge ſpending ſcarſe two hundred markes by the yeare: he left it ſpending a thouſand markes, and more. Which he procured, not with his money, but by his wiſdome; not chargeablie bought by him, but liberallie given by others by his meane, for the zeal and honor they bore to learnyng. And that which is worthy of memorie, all theis givers were almoſt northern men; who, being liberallie rewarded in the ſervice of their prince, beſtowed it as liberallie for the good of their contrie. Some men thought therefore, that Dr. *Medcalfe* was partial to northern men: but ſure I am of this, that northern men were partial in

The partialitie of northern

"Hi enim, & ex his præcipuè *Tho. Smithus*, academiæ ſplendor, & *Joan. Checus*, Canta-
"brigiæ decus, ſua exemplo, eruditione, diligentia, conſtantia, conſilio, non ſtudendi ſo-
"lum, ſed rectè vivendi ordine, ad præclara ſtudia omnes adduxerunt, & concitarunt, qui ab
"eo tempore ad hunc uſque diem in Cantabrigia ſuccreverunt, & ad eminentem aliquam
"doctrinam ſurrexerunt." *Edv. Grant.*

doing more good, and giving more landes to the forderance of learnyng, than any other contriemen, in thoſe daies, did: which deede ſhould have been rather an example of goodnes for others to followe, than matter of malice for anie to envie, as ſome there were that did. men in St. Johnes colledge.

Trewly, Dr. *Medcalfe* was partiall to none, but indifferent to all; a maſter for the whole, a father to everie one in that colledge. There was none ſo poore, if he had either will to goodnes, or wit to learnyng, that could lack being there, or ſhould depart from thence for any need. I am witnes myſelfe, that mony many times was brought into yong mens ſtudies by ſtrangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy *Nicolaus* folowed the ſteppes * of good olde S. *Nicolaus*, that learned biſhop. He was a Papiſte indeede; but would to God, amonge all us Proteſtants I might once ſee but one, that would winne like praiſe, in doing like good, for the advancement of learnyng and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papiſt, if any yong man, geven to new learnyng, (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labour, and towardneſs; even the ſame neither lacked open praiſe to encourage him, nor private exhibition to mainteyne him; as worthy Sir *J. Cheke*, if he were alive, would beare good witneſs, and ſo can many mo. I myſelfe, one of the meaneſt of a great number in that colledge, becauſe there appeared in me ſome ſmall ſhew of towardnes and diligence, lacked not his favor to forder me in learnyng.

And being a boy, new batchelor of artes, I chanced amonges my companions to ſpeake againſt the Pope; which matter was then in every mans mouth, bycauſe Dr. *Haines* and Dr. *Skippe* were come from the court, to debate the ſame matter by preaching, and diſputation in the univerſitie. This hapened the ſame time when I ſtoode to be felow there. My taulke came to Dr. *Medcalfes* eare: I was called before him and the ſeniores; and after grevious rebuke, and ſome puniſhment, open warning was given to all the felowes, none to be ſo hardie as to give me his voice at that election. And yet, for all thoſe open threats, the good father himſelfe privilie procured, that I ſhould even then be choſen fellow; but the election being done, he made counti-

* See his life wrote by *Platina*, who ſtiles him, *in omni genere virtutis unici viri exemplar.*

nance of great diſcontentation thereat. This good mans goodneſs, and fatherlie diſcretion, uſed towards me that one day, ſhall never out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the ſame cauſe have I put it here, in this ſmall record of learnyng. For next Gods providence, ſurely that day was, by that good fathers meanes, *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learnyng I have, and of all the furderance that hitherto elſewhere I have obteyned.

This his goodnes ſtood not ſtill in one or two, but flowed abundantlie over all that colledge, and brake out alſo to noriſhe good wittes in every part of that univerſitie: whereby, at his departing thence, he left ſoch a companie of felowes and ſcholers in St. *Johnes* colledge, as can ſcarſe be found now in ſome whole univerſitie; which, either for divinitie, on the one ſide or other, or for civill ſervice to their prince and contrie, have bene, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole realme. Yea St. *Johnes* did then ſo flouriſh, as *Trinitie* colledge, that princely houſe now, at the firſt erection, was but *colonia deducta* out of St. *Johnes*, not onelie for their maſter, fellowes, and ſcholers, but alſo, which is more, for their whole both order of learnyng, and diſcipline of manners. And yet to this day, it never tooke maſter but ſoch as was bred up before in St. *Johnes*; doing the dewtie of a good *colonia* to her *metropolis*; as the auncient cities in *Greece*, and ſome yet in *Italie* at this day, are accuſtomed to do.

S. *Johnes* ſtoode in this ſtate, untill thoſe hevie tymes, and that grevous change, * that chanced *anno* 1553; when mo perfite ſcholers were diſperſed from thence in one month, than many yeares can reare up againe. For when *Aper de Sylva* had paſſed the ſeas, and faſtened his foote againe in *Englande*, not onelie the two faire groves of learnyng in *Englande* were eyther cut up by the roote, or troden downe to the ground, and wholie went to wracke; but the yong ſpring there, and everie where elſe, was pitifullie nipt and over-troden by very beaſtes; and alſo the faireſt ſtanders of all were rooted up, and caſt into the fire,

Aper de Sylva. Pſal. lxxx. 13.

* "Anno 1553, & Julii 6to, nobiliſſimus princeps, *Edvardus Sextus*, immatura morte, "ad hujus regni maximum detrimentum, ad piorum omnium ingentem dolorem, ad omni-"um Anglorum immenſum malum, & *Rogeri Aſchami* magnam calamitatem diem obiit." *Edw. Grant.*

to

to the great weakning even at this day of Chriſtes church in *Englande*, both for religion and learnyng.

And what good could chance then to the univerſities, when ſome of the greateſt, though not of the wiſeſt, nor beſt learned, nor beſt men neyther of that ſide, did labor to perſuade, † "that ignorance was "better than knowledge?" which they ment, not for the laitie onelie, but alſo for the greateſt rable of their ſpiritualtie, what other pretenſe openlie ſoever they made. And therefore did ſome of them at *Cambridge* (whom I will not name openlie) cauſe hedge prieſtes fette out of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the univerſitie; ſaying in their talke privilie, and declaring by their deedes openlie, "that he was felow "good enough for their tyme, if he could weare a gowne and a tipet "comlie, and have hys crowne ſhorne faire and roundlie; and could "turne his portelle and * pie readilie." Which I ſpeake, not to reprove any order either of apparell, or other dewtie, that may be well and indifferentlie uſed; but to note the miſerie of that time, when the benefites provided for learnyng were ſo fowlie miſuſed.

And what was the fruite of this ſeade? Verely, judgement in doctrine was wholy altered; order in diſcipline very ſore changed; the love of good learnyng began ſodenly to wax cold; the knowledge of the tonges (in ſpite of ſome that therein had floriſhed) was manifeſtly contemned: and ſo, the way of right ſtudy purpoſely perverted; the choice of good authors, of malice confounded; olde ſophiſtrie, I ſay not well, not olde, but that new rotten ſophiſtrie, began to beard, and ſholder logicke in her owne tonge: yea, I know that heades were caſt together, and counſell deviſed, that *Duns*, with all the rable of barbarous queſtioniſtes, ſhould have diſpoſſeſſed of their place and rowme, *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Tullie*, and *Demoſthenes*; when good M. *Redman*, and thoſe two worthy ſtarres of that univerſitie, M. *Cheke* and M. *Smith*, with their ſcholers, Ariſtotle, Plato, Cicero, Demoſthenes.

† See this ſentence taken out of St. *Chryſoſtome*, cited before.

* Some form the word *pie* from πίναξ, or πινακίδιον, a table of order, how things ſhould be digeſted; but the *Latin* is *pica*, from a mark, I ſuppoſe, not unlike the *coronis*, often placed in the end of books, and ſometimes elſewhere. Others derive it from *litera picata*, a great black letter, at the beginning of ſome new order. The printers have ſtill in uſe the *Pica letter*.

ſcholers, had brought to floriſhe as notably in *Cambridge*, as ever they did in *Grece* and in *Italie*; and for the doctrine of thoſe fowre, the fowre pillers of learnyng, *Cambridge* then giving no place to no univerſitie, neither in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, nor *Italie*. Alſo, in outward behavior, then began ſimplicity in apparell to be laid aſide, courtlie galantnes to be taken up; frugalitie in diet was privatelie miſliked, towne-going to good cheare openly uſed; honeſt paſtimes, joyned with labor, left off in the fieldes; unthriftie and idle games, haunted corners, and occupied the nightes: contention in youth no where for learnyng; factions in the elders every where for trifles.

Shootinge.

All which miſeries at length, by Gods providence, had their end * 16th *Novemb.* 1558. Since which tyme, the yong ſpring hath ſhot up ſo faire, as now there be in *Cambridge* againe many goodly plantes, (as did well appeare at the Queenes Majeſties late being there) which are like to grow to mightie great timber, to the honor of learnyng, and great good of their countrie; if they may ſtand their tyme, as the beſt plantes there were wont to do; and if ſome old dotterell trees, with ſtanding over nie them, and dropping upon them, do not either hinder, or crooke their growing: wherein my feare is the leſſe, ſeeing † ſo worthie a juſtice of an oyre hath the preſent overſight of that whole chace: who was himſelfe ſomtyme in the faireſt ſpring that ever was there of learnyng, one of the forwardeſt yong plantes in all that worthy college of S. *Johnes*: who now by grace is growne to ſoch greatneſſe, as, in the temperate and quiet ſhade of his wiſdome, (next the providence of God, and goodnes of one) in thies our daies, *religio* for ſinceritie, *literæ* for order and advancement, *reſpub.* for happie and quiet government, have, to the great rejoyſing of all good men, ſpeciallie repoſed themſelves.

Now to return to that queſtion, "Whether one, a few, many, or "all, are to be folowed?" My aunſwere ſhall be ſhort: All, for him that is deſirous to know all; yea, the worſt of all, as queſtioniſtes,

* The day of Queen *Eliſabeth*'s happy acceſſion to the throne; tho' our hiſtorians fix it on the ſeventeenth.

† Sir *William Cecil*, principal ſecretary of ſtate, and chancellor of the univerſity of *Cambridge*.

and

and all the barbarous nation of ſchole-men, helpe for one or other conſideration. But in everie ſeparate kinde of learnyng, and ſtudie by itſelf, ye muſt folow choſelie a few, and chiefly ſome one, and that namelie in our ſchole of eloquence, either for penne or talke. And as in portraiture, and paintyng, wiſe men choſe not that workman, that can onelie † make a faire hand, or a well facioned legge; but ſoch a one, as can furniſh up fullie all the fetures of the whole body of a man, woman, and child; and withall is able to, by good ſkill, to give to every one of theſe three, in their proper kinde, the right forme, the trewe figure, the naturall color, that is fit and due to the dignity of a man, to the bewtie of a woman, to the ſweetnes of a yong babe: even likewiſe do we ſeeke ſoch an one in our ſchole to folow; who is able alwaies, in all matters, to teache plainlie, to delite pleaſantlie, and to cary away by force of wiſe talke, all that ſhall heare or read him; and is ſo excellent in deed, as witte is able, or wiſhe can hope, to attayne unto: and this not onelie to ſerve in the *Latin* or *Greke* tonge, but alſo in our own *Engliſhe* language. But yet, becauſe the providence of God hath left unto us in no other tonge, ſave onelie in the *Greke* and *Latin* tonge, the trew precepts, and perfite examples of eloquence; therefore muſt we ſeeke in the authors onelie of thoſe two tonges, the trewe paterne of eloquence, if in any other mother tonge we looke to attaine, either to perfit utterance of it ourſelves, or ſkilfull judgement of it in others.

And now to know, what author doth meddle onlie with ſome one piece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfitlie make up the whole bodie, I will declare; as I can call to remembrance the goodlie talke that I have had oftentimes of the trewe difference of authors, with that jentleman of worthie memorie, my deareſt friend, and teacher of all the little poor learnyng I have, Syr *John Cheke*.

The trew difference of authors is beſt knowne, *per diverſa genera dicendi*, that everie one uſed: and therefore here I will divide *genus*

† *Æmilium circa ludum faber imus, & ungues*
Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos;
Infelix operis ſumma: quia ponere totum
Neſciet. Horace de Arte Poetica.

dicendi,

dicendi, not into theſe three, *Tenue*, *mediocre*, & *grande*, but as the matter of everie author requireth; as,

In genus { *Poeticum*, *Hiſtoricum*, *Philoſophicum*, *Oratorium*.

Theſe differre one from another in choice of wordes, in framyng of ſentences, in handling of argumentes, and uſe of right forme, figure, and number, proper and fitte for everie matter: and everie one of theſe is diverſe alſo in itſelfe; as firſt,

Poeticum, in { *Comicum*, *Tragicum*, *Epicum*, *Melicum*.

And here, who ſoever hath bene diligent to read adviſedlie over *Terence*, *Seneca*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, or els *Ariſtophanus*, *Sophocles*, *Homer*, and *Pindar*; and ſhall diligentlie marke the difference they uſe, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of ſentence, in handlyng of their matter; he ſhall eaſelie perceive what is fitte and *decorum* in everie one, to the trew uſe of perfite imitation.

When M. *Watſon* in St. *Johns* college at *Cambridge*, wrote his excellent tragedie of *Abſalon*; M. *Cheke*, he, and I, for that part of trew imitation, had many pleaſant talkes together, in comparing the preceptes of *Ariſtotle*, and *Horace de Arte Poetica*, with the examples of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*. Few men, in writyng of tragedies in our dayes, have ſhot at this marke. Some in *Englande*, moe in *France*, *Germanie*, and *Italie* alſo, have written tragedies in our tyme: of which, not one, I am ſure, is able to abyde the trew touch of *Ariſtotles* preceptes, and *Euripides* examples, ſave onely two, that ever I ſaw, M. *Watſons Abſalon*, and *Georgius Buchananus Jephthe*.

One

One man in *Cambridge*, * well liked of many, but beſt liked of himſelfe, was many tymes bold and buſie to bryng matters upon ſtages, which he called tragedies. In one, whereby he looked to wynne his ſpurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes faſt clapped their handes, † he began the *Protaſis* with *Trochæis octonariis:* which kinde of verſe, as it is but ſeldome and rare in tragedies, ſo is it never uſed, ſave onelie in *Epitaſi*; when the tragedie is hieſt and hoteſt, and full of greateſt troubles. I remember full well what M. *Watſon* merelie ſayd unto me of his blindeneſſe and boldnes in that behalfe; although otherwiſe there paſſed much frendſhip between them. M. *Watſon* had another maner of care of perfection, with a feare and reverence of the judgement of the beſt learned; who to this day would never ſuffer yet his *Abſalon* to go abroad, and that onelie ‡ bicauſe *in locis paribus Anapæſtus* is twiſe or thriſe uſed inſtead of *Iambus*. A ſmal faulte, and ſuch a one as perchance would never be marked, no neither in *Italie*, nor *France*. This I write, not ſo much to note the firſt, or praiſe the laſt, as to leave in memorie of writing, for good example to poſteritie, what perfection in any time, was moſt diligentlie ſought for in like maner in all kinde of learnyng, in that moſt worthie college of St. *Johnes* in *Cambridge*.

* Who he means I know not: but he ſeems to have had St. *Hierome* before him, when he wrote this paſſage. "Unus quidam, poeta nominatus, homo perlitteratus, cujus ſunt illa "colloquia poetarum ac philoſophorum, quam facit Euripidem et Menandrum inter ſe, et "alio loco Socratem atque Epicurum differentes, quorum ætates non annis, ſed ſeculis ſcimus "eſſe disjunctas; quantos is plauſus et clamores movet? Multos enim condiſcipulos habet in "theatro, qui ſimul literas non didicerunt." *Epiſt. ad Nepot.*

† "Dividitur nova comœdia in quatuor partes: prologum, protaſin, epitaſin, cataſtro-"phen."

‡ What is here aſſign'd, could never be the true reaſon of Mr. *Watſon*'s refuſing to publiſh his tragedy, ſo accurately compoſed, as to be put in competition with *Buchanan*'s *Jepthe*. For why did he not correct what he judged amiſs? a thing ſo very eaſy for him to do. Tho' what if we ſay, there was no fault in this reſpect committed, nor any need of alteration? For excepting the ſixth place, the *Anapeſt* has free liberty to ſtand where it pleaſes; and that for this reaſon, eſpecially with the comedians, as *Hephæſtion* has obſerved.

Εὑρίσκεται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Κωμικοῖς συνεχῶς ὁ Ἀνάπαιςος. τὸν γὰρ βίον ἔτοι μιμέμενοι, θέλουσι δοκεῖν διαλελυμένως διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐμμελῶς. ὁ δὲ Ἀνάπαιςος διαλελυμένην ποιεῖ τὴν φράσιν, δια τὸ τρίσημον.

I ſuppoſe the true reaſon hereof was, either an unwillingneſs to appear in print, or a diſſatisfaction with the times, he being one of the ejected biſhops.

Hiſtoricum, in { *Diaria,* *Annales,* *Commentarios,* *Juſtam hiſtoriam.*

For what proprietie in wordes, ſimplicitie in ſentences, plainneſſe and light, is comlie for theſe kindes, *Cæſar* and *Livie*, for the two laſt, are perfite examples of imitation. And for the two firſt, * the old paterns be loſt; and as for ſome that be preſent, and of late tyme, they be fitter to be read once for ſome pleaſure, than oft to be peruſed, for any good imitation of them.

Philoſophicum, in { *Sermonem*; as *Officia Ciceronis, & Ethica Ariſt.* *Contentionem*; as, the Dialogues of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Cicero.*

Of which kinde of learnyng, and right imitation thereof, *Carolus Sigonius* hath written of late both learnedlie and eloquentlie; but beſt of all, my frende *Joan. Sturmius*, in hys commentaries upon *Gorgias Platonis*; which booke I have in writyng, and is not yet ſet out in print.

Oratorium, in { *Humile,* *Mediocre,* *Sublime.*

Examples of theſe three in the *Greke* tonge, be plentifull and perfite, as *Lycias*, *Iſocrates*, and *Demoſthenes*: and all three, in onlie *Demoſthenes* in diverſe orations; as *contra Olympiodorum*, *in Leptinem*, and *pro Cteſiphonte*. And trew it is, that *Hermogenes* writeth of *Demoſthenes*, † "that "all formes of eloquence be perfite in him." In *Ciceroes* orations, *Medium & Sublime*, be moſt excellentlie handled; but *Humile* in his

* "Atqui ne noſtros contemnas, inquit Antonius; Græci ipſi ſic initio ſcriptitarunt, ut "noſter Cato, ut Victor, ut Piſo. Erat enim hiſtoria nihil aliud, niſi annalium confectio." *Cicero de Orat. lib.* 2.

† See *Hermogenes*'s firſt book *de Formis Orationis*, *cap.* 1. I have not the *Greek* by me, and the *Latin* is not worth citing.

orations

orations is ſeldome ſeen: yet nevertheleſſe, in other bookes, as in ſome parte of his Offices, and ſpecially *in Partitionibus*, he is comparable *in hoc humili, & diſciplinabili genere*, even with the beſt that ever wrote in *Greke*. But of *Cicero* more fullie in fitter place.

And thus the trew difference of ſtiles in everie author, and everie kinde of learnyng, may eaſily be knowne by this diviſion,

In Genus { *Poeticum*, *Hiſtoricum*, *Philoſophicum*, *Oratorium*.

Which I thought in this place to touch onelie, not to proſecute at large; bicauſe, God willing, in the *Latin* tonge, I will fullie handle it in my booke *de Imitatione*.

Now to touch more particularlie, which of thoſe authors, that be now moſt commonlie in mens handes, will ſone affourd you ſome piece of eloquence; and what manner a piece of eloquence; and what is to be liked and folowed; and what to be miſliked, and eſchewed in them; and how ſome agayne will furniſhe you fully withall, rightly and wiſely conſidered, ſomewhat I will write, as I have heard Syr *John Cheke* many times ſay.

The *Latin* tonge, concerning any part of pureneſs of it, from the ſpring to the decay of the ſame, did not endure moch longer, * than is the life of a well aged man; ſcarſe one hundred years from the tyme of the laſt *Scipio Africanus* and *Lælius*, to the empire of *Auguſtus*. And it is notable, that *Velleius Paterculus* † writeth of *Tullie*, "how that the "per-

* "Ipſe ego in Britannia vidi ſenem, qui ſe fateretur et pugnæ interfuiſſe, quâ Cæſarem "inferentem arma Britanniæ, arcere litoribus, et pellere aggreſſi ſunt. Ita ſi eum, qui arma- "tus C. Cæſari reſtitit, vel captivitas, vel voluntas, vel fatum aliquod in Urbem pertraxiſſet, "idem Cæſarem ipſum et Ciceronem audire potuit, et noſtris quoque actionibus intereſſe." *Dialogus de Oratoribus.*

† "Hiſtoricos (ut Livium quoque priorum ætati adſtruas) præter Catonem, & quoſdam "veteres & obſcuros, minus LXXX annis circumdatum ævum tulit; ut nec poetarum in

 "antiquius

" perfection of eloquence did ſo remayne onelie in him, and in his time, " as before him were few which might moch delight a man, or after " him, any worthy admiration, but ſuch as *Tullie* might have ſeene, " and ſuch as might have ſeene *Tullie*." And good cauſe why; for no perfection is durable. Encreaſe hath a time, and decay likewiſe; but all perfit ripeneſſe remaineth but a moment: as is plainly ſeen in fruites, plummes, and cherries; but more ſenſibly in flowers, as roſes, and ſuch like; and yet as trewlie in all greater matters. For what naturallie * can go no hier, muſt naturallie yield and ſtoupe againe.

Of this ſhort tyme of pureneſſe of the *Latin* tonge, for the firſt fortie yeares of it, and all the tyme before, we have no piece of learnyng left, ſave *Plautus* and *Terence*, † with a little rude unperfit pamflet of the elder *Cato*. And as for *Plautus*, except the ſcholemaſter be able to make wiſe and warie choice, firſt, in proprietie of wordes, then in framing of phraſes and ſentences, and chieflie in choice of honeſtie of matter; your ſcholer were better to play, than learne all that is in him. But ſurelie, if judgement for the tonge, and direction for the manners, be wiſely joined with the diligent reading of *Plautus*, then trewlie *Plautus*, for that pureneſſe of the *Latin* tonge in *Rome*, when *Rome* did moſt floriſh in well doing, and ſo thereby in well ſpeaking alſo, is ſoch a plentifull ſtore-houſe for common eloquence in meane matters, and all private mens affaires, as the *Latin* tonge, for that reſpect, hath not the like againe. When I remember the worthy tyme of *Rome*, wherein *Plautus* did live, I muſt nedes honor the talke of that tyme, which we ſee *Plautus* doth uſe.

" antiquius citeriuſve proceſſit ubertas. At oratio, ac vis forenſis, perfectumque proſæ elo-
" quentiæ decus, ut idem ſeparetur Cato, (pace P. Craſſi, Scipioniſque & Lælii & Graccho-
" rum, & Fannii, & Ser. Galbæ dixerim) ita univerſa ſub principe operis ſui erupit Tullio;
" ut delectari ante eum pauciſſimis, mirari vero neminem poſſis, niſi aut ab illo viſum, aut
" qui illum viderit." *Paterculus.*

* " Alit æmulatio ingenia: & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio incitationem accendit. Ma-
" turè quoque, *(ſo I think it ſhould be read)* quod ſummo ſtudio petitum eſt, aſcendit in ſum-
" mum: difficiliſque in perfecto mora eſt; naturaliterque quod procedere non poteſt, recedit."
Idem.

† One would imagine, Mr. *Aſcham* had never ſeen *Victorius*'s edition of *Cato*, *de Re Ruſtica*: ſince he here calls it a little rude imperfect pamphlet. And yet 'twas printed by *Rob. Stephens*, *anno* 1543.

Terence

Terence is alſo a ſtore-houſe of the ſame tonge, for another tyme, following ſoone after; and although he be not ſo full and plentyful as *Plautus* is, for multitude of matters, and diverſitie of wordes; yet his wordes be choſen ſo purelie, placed ſo orderlie, and all his ſtuffe ſo neatlie packed up, and wittely compaſſed in every place, as, by all wiſe mens judgement, "he is counted the cunninger workman, and to have "his ſhop, for the rowme that is in it, more finely appointed, and "trimlier ordered, than *Plautus* is."

Three things chiefly, both in *Plautus* and *Terence*, are to be ſpecially conſidered; the matter, the utterance, the wordes, the meter. The matter in both, is altogether within the compaſſe of the meaneſt mens maners, and doth not ſtretch to any thing of any great weight at all: but ſtandeth chiefly * in utteryng the thoughtes and conditions of hard fathers, fooliſh mothers, unthrifty young men, craftie ſervantes, ſotle bawdes, and wilie harlots; and ſo is moch ſpent in finding out fine fetches, and packing up pelting matters, ſoch as in *London* commonlie come to the hearing of the maſters of *Bridewell*. Here is baſe ſtuffe for that ſcholer, that ſhould become hereafter either a good miniſter in religion, or a civill jentleman in ſervice of his prince and contrie; (except the preacher do know ſoch matters to confute them) when ignorance ſurelie in all ſoch thinges, were better for a civill jentleman, than knowledge. "And thus for matter, both *Plautus* and *Terence* be like meane "painters, that worke by halfes; and be cunning onelie in making the "worſt part of the picture: as if one were ſkilfull in painting the bodie "of a naked perſon from the navell downward, but nothing elſe."

For word and ſpeach, *Plautus* is more plentifull, and *Terence* more pure and proper. And for one reſpect, *Terence* is to be embraced above all that ever wrote in thys kinde of argument: bicauſe it is well known,

* In this is chiefly contained the ſubject-matter of all comedies; which *Ovid* has ingeniouſly compriz'd in two verſes:

Dum fallax ſervus, durus pater, improba lena,
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda; Menandros erit.

And ſo has *Terence* before him with no leſs art, in the prologue to his *Eunuchus*.

by

by good recorde of learnyng, and that by * *Ciceroes* owne witnes, that ſome comedies bearing *Terence* name, were written by worthy *Scipio*, and wiſe *Lælius*; and namely *Heautontimorumenos* and *Adelphi*. And therefore, as oft as I read thoſe comedies, ſo oft doth ſound in myne eare the pure fine taulke of *Rome*, which was uſed by the floure of the worthieſt nobilitie that ever *Rome* bred. Let the wiſeſt man, and beſt learned that liveth, read adviſedlie over the firſt ſcene of *Heautontimorumenos*, and the firſt ſcene of *Adelphi*; and let him conſiderately judge, whether it is the talke of a ſervile ſtranger borne, or rather even that milde eloquent wiſe ſpeach, which *Cicero* † in *Brutus* doth ſo lively expreſſe in *Lælius*. And yet nevertheleſſe, in all this good proprietie of wordes, and pureneſſe of phraſes, which be in *Terence*, ye muſt not follow him alwayes in placing of them; bicauſe for the meter ſake, ſome wordes in him ſomtyme be driven awrie, which require a ſtraighter placing in plaine proſe, if ye will forme, as I would ye ſhould do, your ſpeach and writing to that excellent perfitneſſe, which was onely in *Tullie*, or onelie in *Tullies* tyme.

The meter and verſe of *Plautus* and *Terence* be verie meane, and not to be followed: which is not their reproach, ‡ but the fault of the tyme, wherein they wrote, when no kinde of poetrie, in the *Latin* tonge, was brought to perfection; as doth well appeare in the fragmentes of *Ennius*, *Cæcilius*, and others, and evidentlie in *Plautus*, and *Terence*; if thies in *Latin* be compared with right ſkil with *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Ari-*

* "Secutus ſum, non dico Cæcilium, *Mane ut ex portu in Piræeum*; (malus enim auctor "Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis, putabantur à "C. Lælio ſcribi: *Here aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum.*" *Cic. lib. 7. epiſt. ad Attic. ep. 3.*

† "De ipſius Lælii & Scipionis ingenio, quanquam ea jam eſt opinio, ut plurimum tri-"buatur ambobus; dicendi tamen laus eſt in Lælio illuſtrior. ——— Nam ut ex bellica "laude adſpirare ad Africanum nemo poteſt, in qua ipſa egregium Viriati bello reperimus "fuiſſe Lælium: ſic ingenii, literarum, eloquentiæ, ſapientiæ denique etſi utrique primas, "priores tamen libenter deferunt Lælio." *Cic. de claris Orator.* In which place, he has drawn a full compariſon betwixt *Lælius* and *Galba*.

‡ ——— *In longum tamen ævum*
Manſerunt, hodiéque manent veſtigia ruris.
Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et poſt Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles, et Theſpis, et Æſchylus utile ferrent. Horace, ep. 1. lib. 11.

Stophanes,

ſtophanes, and other in *Greke* of like ſort. *Cicero* himſelfe * doth complaine of this unperfitnes; but more plainly *Quintilian*, ſaying, † *In Comœdia maximè claudicamus*; &, *vix levem conſequimur umbram*: and moſt earneſtly of all, *Horace in de Arte Poetica*. Which he doth namely *propter carmen Iambicum*; and referreth all good ſtudents herein to the imitation of the *Greke* tonge, ſaying;

Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ verſate manu, verſate diurnâ.

This matter maketh me gladly remember my ſweete tyme ſpent at *Cambrige*, and the pleaſant talke which I had oft with M. *Cheke*, and M. *Watſon*, of this fault, not onely in the olde *Latin* poets, but alſo in our new *Engliſh* rymers at this day. They wiſhed, as *Virgil* and *Horace* were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers, (a ſhrewd marriage in greater matters) but by right *Imitation* of the perfit *Grecians*, had brought poetry to perfitneſſe alſo in the *Latin* tonge; that we *Engliſhmen* likewiſe would acknowledge and underſtand rightfullie our rude beggarly ryming, brought firſt into *Italie* by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, when all good verſes, and all good learnyng to, were deſtroyed by them; and after caryed into *France* and *Germanie*, and at laſt receyved into *Englande* by men of excellent wit indeede, but of ſmall learnyng, and leſſe judgement in that behalfe.

But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both of the beſt, and of the worſt; ſurelie to follow rather the *Gothes* in ryming, than the *Greekes* in trew verſifying, were even to eate acornes with ſwyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread amonges men. In-

* "Comicorum ſenarios propter ſimilitudinem ſermonis ſic ſæpe abjectos eſſe, ut nonnun-
" quam in his numerus et verſus vix intelligi poſſit." *In Orat. ad Brutum.* *Horace*'s judgment is much the ſame, more particularly with reſpect to *Plautus*.

† "In comœdia maximè claudicamus: licet Varro dicat, *Muſas*, Ælii Stolonis ſententia,
" *Plautino ſermone locuturas fuiſſe, ſi Latine loqui vellent*; licet Cæcilium veteres laudibus ferant; licet Terentii ſcripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur: quæ tamen ſunt in hoc
" genere elegantiſſima, & plus adhuc habitura gratiæ, ſi intra verſus trimetros ſtetiſſent.
" Vix levem conſequimur umbram: adeo ut mihi ſermo ipſe Romanus non recipere videatur
" illam ſolis conceſſam Atticis Venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ
" obtinuerint." *Quint. de Inſtit. Orat. lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

deede *Chauſer*, * *Th. Norton* of *Briſtol*, † my lord of *Surrey*, M. *Wiat*, ‡ *Th. Phaer*, and other jentlemen, in tranſlating *Ovide*, *Palingenius*, and *Seneca*, have gone as farre to their great praiſe, as the copie they followed could cary them. But if ſoch good wittes, and forward diligence, had bene directed to folow the beſt examples, and not have bene caryed by tyme and cuſtome, to content themſelves with that barbarous and rude ryming; amonges their other worthy praiſes, which they have juſtly deſerved, this had not bene the leaſt, to be counted amonges men of learnyng and ſkill, more like unto the *Grecians*, than unto the *Gothians*, in handlyng of their verſe.

Indeede our *Engliſh* tonge, having in uſe chiefly wordes of one ſyllable, which commonly be long, doth not well receive the nature of *Carmen Heroicum*: bicauſe *Dactylus*, the apteſt foote for that verſe, conteining one long, and two ſhort, is ſeldom therefore found in *Engliſh*; and doth alſo rather ſtumble, than ſtand upon *Monoſyllabis*. *Quintilian*, in hys learned chapter || *de Compoſitione*, giveth this leſſon *de Monoſyllabis* before me; and in the ſame place doth juſtlie invey againſt all ryming; that if there be anie who be angry with me for miſliking of ryming, they may be angry for company too with *Quintilian* alſo, for the ſame thing: and yet *Quintilian* had not ſo juſt cauſe to miſlike of it then, as men have at this day.

* *Thomas Norton*, born in *Briſtol*, an alchymiſt, flouriſhed in the reign of *Edward* IV.

† "In the latter end of the reign of *Henry* the eighth, ſprung up a new company of courtly "poets, of whom Sir *Thomas Wiat* the elder, and *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, were the two chief-"tains; who having travelled into *Italy*, and there taſted the ſweet and ſtately meaſures and "ſtile of the *Italian* poeſy, as novices newly crept out of the ſcholes of *Dante*, *Arioſto*, and "*Petrarch*, they greatly poliſhed our rude and homely manner of vulgar poeſy from that it "had been before: and for that cauſe may juſtly be ſaid the firſt reformers of our *Engliſh* "metre and ſtile." *The Art of* Engliſh *Poeſy*; an anonymous writer in Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign.

‡ "In Queen *Marie*'s time flouriſhed above any other Doctor *Phaer*; one that was well "learned, and excellently well tranſlated into *Engliſh* verſe heroical, certain books of *Virgil*'s "*Æneis*." The ſame author.

|| "Etiam monoſyllaba, ſi plura ſunt, malè continuabuntur, quia neceſſe eſt, compoſitio "multis clauſulis conciſa ſubſultet. Ideoque etiam brevium verborum ac nominum vitanda "continuatio, & ex diverſo quoque longorum: afferunt enim quandam dicendi tardiitatem. "Illa quoque vitia ſunt ejuſdem loci, ſi cadentia ſimiliter & ſimiliter definentia, & eodem "modo declinata, multa jungantur." *Idem, lib.* 9. *cap.* 4.

And

And although *Carmen Exametrum* doth rather trotte and hoble, than run ſmothly, in our *Engliſh* tonge; yet I am ſure our *Engliſh* tonge * will receive *Carmen Iambicum* as naturallie as either *Greeke* or *Latin*. But for ignorance men cannot like, and for idlenes men will not labor, to come to any perfitnes at all. For as the worthy poets in *Athens* and *Rome* were more carefull to ſatisfie the judgement † of one learned, than raſhe in pleaſing the humor of a rude multitude; even ſo, if men in *Englande* now had the like reverend regard to learnyng, ſkill, and judgement, and durſt not preſume to write, except they came with the like learnyng; and alſo did uſe like diligence in ſearchyng out, not onelie juſt meaſure in everie meter (as everie ignorant perſon may eaſielie do) but alſo trew quantitie in every foote and ſillable, (as onelie the learned ſhall be able to do, and as the *Grekes* and *Romans* were wont to do) ſurelie then raſhe ignorant heades, which now can eaſily reckon up fourten ſyllables, and eaſilie ſtumble on every ryme, either durſt not, for lacke of ſuch learnyng, or els would not, in avoyding ſuch labor, be ſo buſie, as everie where they be; and ſhoppes in *London* ſhould not be ſo full of lewd and rude rymes, as commonlie they are. But now the ripeſt of tonge be readieſt to write. "And many "daily in ſetting out bookes, and balettes, make great ſhew of bloſſoms "and buddes; in whom is neither roote of learnyng, nor fruit of wiſ- "dome at all."

* This our incomparable *Milton*, not inferior to any of the ancients, well underſtood; as indeed he did every thing elſe, worth knowing, in the whole compaſs of learning. He that reads him with right judgment, will eaſily obſerve, what uſe he makes of the *Iambic*, and how frequently in the ſecond place, to give ſtrength and firmneſs to his verſe. As for inſtance, in theſe, which I never read without the greateſt admiration:

Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend,
As at th' Olympian *games, or* Pythian *fields.*

And a little after, in this ſweet verſe, where all the feet, excepting the fourth, are *Iambics*.

For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe.

This excellency almoſt peculiar to himſelf in our language, as alſo his ſetting aſide rhyme, as no true ornament of verſe, I queſtion not but Mr. *Milton* owes in a great meaſure (next to his own natural genius) to the authority and reaſon of this wiſe and ingenious writer. 'Tis certain, he had the memory of Sir *John Cheke* in great veneration: and to me he ſeems, in the ſhort account of his verſe, printed before his poem, to have had our author in his eye.

† —— *Satis eſt equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,*
Contemptis aliis, exploſa Arbuſcula dixit. Horace.

Some, that make * *Chaucer* in *Engliſh*, and *Petrarch* in *Italian*, their gods in verſes, and yet be not able to make trewe difference, what is a fault, and what is a juſt praiſe, in thoſe two worthie wittes, will moch miſlike this my wryting. But ſuch men be even like followers of *Chaucer* and *Petrarch*, as one here in *Englande* did folow Syr *Tho. More*; who, being moſt unlike unto him in wit and learnyng, neverthelefs, in wearing his gowne † awrye upon one ſhoulder, as Syr *Tho. More* was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke unto him.

This miſlikyng of ryming beginneth not now of any new fangle ſingularitie, but hath bene long miſliked of many, and that of men of greateſt learnyng, and deepeſt judgement. And ſoch that defend it, do ſo, either for lacke of knowledge, what is beſt; or els of verie envie, that any ſhould performe that in learnyng, whereunto they, as I ſayd before, either for ignorance cannot, or for idlenes will not labor to attain unto.

And you that praiſe this ryming, bicauſe you neither have reaſon why to like it, nor can ſhew learnyng to defend it; yet I will helpe you with the authoritie of the oldeſt and learnedeſt tyme. In *Greece*, when poetrie was even at the hieſt pitch of perfitneſs, one *Simmias Rhodius*, of a certain ſingularity, wrote a book in ryming *Greeke* verſes, naming it Ὠὸν, conteyning the fable, how *Jupiter*, in likenes of a ſwan, gat that egge upon *Leda*, whereof came *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and faire *Elena*. This booke was ſo liked, that it had few to read it, but none to folow it: but was preſentlie contemned; and ſoon after, both author and booke

* *Jeffrey Chaucer*, born at *Woodſtock*, father of our *Engliſh* poets, lived in the time of *Richard* II. who gave him the manour of *Newhalme* in *Oxfordſhire*. He died in 1440.

† Of this ridiculous and ſervile imitation, wiſe men have always complain'd. *Horace* is full of it; and ſo is *Quintilian*, and *Martial*. But none ſo appoſite as *Tully*, in his ſecond book *de Oratore*:

" Nihil eſt facilius, quàm amictum imitari alicujus, aut ſtatum, aut motum. Si verò " etiam vitioſè aliquid eſt, id ſumere, & in eo vitioſum eſſe, non magnum eſt: ut ille, qui " nunc etiam amiſſa voce furit in republica Fuſius, nervos in dicendo C. Fimbriæ, quos ta- " men habuit ille, non aſſequitur; oris pravitatem, & verborum latitudinem imitatur."

Eraſmus, in his account of Sir *Thomas Moore*, has theſe words: " Dexter humerus paulo " videtur eminentior lævo, præſertim cum incedit; id quod illi non accidit naturâ, ſed aſſue- " tudine, qualia permulta nobis ſolent adhærere." *In Epiſt. ad Ulricum Huttenum.*

ſo

ſo forgotten by men, and conſumed by tyme, as ſcarſe the name of either is kept in memorie of learnyng. And the like folie was never folowed of any many hondred years after, until the *Hunnes* and *Gothians*, and other barbarous nations of ignorance and rude ſingularitie, did revive the ſame folie agayne.

The noble lord *Henry* * Earle of *Surrey*, firſt of all *Engliſhmen*, in tranſlating the fourth booke of *Virgil*; and † *Gonſalvo Periz*, that excellent learned man, and ſecretarie to king *Philip* of *Spaine*, in tranſlating the *Uliſſes* of *Homer* out of *Greke* into *Spaniſhe*, have both, by good judgement, avoyded the fault of ryming: yet neither of them hath fullie hit perfite and trew verſifying. Indeede they obſerve juſt number, and even feete: but here is the fault, that their feete be feete without jointes, that is to ſay, not diſtinct by trew quantitie of ſillables. And ſo ſoch feete be but benummed feete; and be even as unfitte for a verſe to turne, and runne roundly withall, as feete of braſſe or wood be unwieldie to go well withall. And as a foote of wood is a plaine ſhew of a manifeſt maine: even ſo feete in our *Engliſh* verſifying without quantitie and jointes, be ſure ſignes, that the verſe is either borne deformed, unnatural, or lame; and ſo verie unſeemlie to looke upon, except to men that be gogle eyed themſelves. The Earle of Surrey. Gonſalvo Periz.

The ſpying of this fault now, is not the curioſitie of *Engliſh* eyes, but even the good judgement alſo of the beſt that write in theſe dayes in *Italie*, and namelie of that worthie *Seneſe Felice Figliucci*; who ‡ Seneſe Felice Figliucci.

* By a miſtake, it was printed till now, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*. The title of his poems is, *Songs and Sonnets, written by the Right Honourable Lord* Henry Howard, *late Earl of* Surrey. Of him, and Sir *Thomas Wiat*, I find this character in the author above mentioned. "I repute them, between whom I find little difference, for the two chief lanterns of light "to all others, that have ſince employed their pens upon *Engliſh* poeſy. Their conceits were "lofty, their ſtiles ſtately, their conveyance cleanly, their terms proper, their metre ſweet "and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and ſtudiouſly their maſter *Francis* "*Petrarch*."

† Among Mr. *Aſcham*'s letters, there is one to this learned *Spaniard*, wherein he recommends the ambaſſador Sir *William Cecil* to his acquaintance and friendſhip. The ſuperſcription of the letter is, *Clariſſimo viro, D. Gonſalvo Periſio, Regis Catholici Secretario primario, & Conſiliario intimo, Amico meo cariſſimo.*

‡ The title of this *Italian* book is, *Filoſofia Morale ſopra il 10 libri d'Ethica d'Ariſtotile.*

writing upon *Ariſtotles Ethickes* ſo excellentlie in *Italian*, as never did yet any one in myne opinion, either in *Greke* or *Latin*; amongeſt other thynges, doth moſt earneſtlie invey againſt the rude ryming of verſes in that tonge. And when ſoever he expreſſeth *Ariſtotles* precepts with any example out of *Homer* or *Euripides*, he tranſlateth them, not after the rymes of *Petrarch*, but into ſuch kind of perfite verſe, with like feete and quantitie of ſillables, as he found them before in the *Greke* tonge: exhorting earneſtlie all the *Italian* nation, to leave of their rude barbarioufneſſe in ryming, and folow diligently the excellent *Greke* and *Latin* examples in trew verſifying.

And you, that be able to underſtand no more than you finde in the *Italian* tonge; and never went farder than the ſchole of *Petrarch* and *Arioſtus* abroad, or els of *Chaucer* at home; though you have pleaſure to wander blindlie ſtill in your foule wrong way, envie not others that ſeeke, as wiſe men have done before them, the faireſt and righteſt way: or els, beſide the juſt reproach of malice, wiſe men ſhall trewlie judge, that you do ſo, as I have ſayd, and ſay yet againe unto you, bicauſe either for idlenes ye will not, or for ignorance ye cannot, come by no better yourſelves.

And therefore, even as *Virgil* and *Horace* deſerve moſt worthie praiſe, that they ſpyng the unperfitneſs in *Ennius* and *Plautus*, by trew imitation of *Homer* and *Euripides*, brought poetry to the ſame perfitneſs in *Latin*, as it was in *Greke*; even ſo thoſe, that by the ſame way would benefite their tonge and contrey, deſerve rather thankes than diſprayſe in that behalfe.

And I rejoice, that even poore *Englande* prevented *Italie*, firſt in ſpying out, then in ſeeking to amend this fault in learnyng.

And here, for my pleaſure, I purpoſe a little by the way, to play and ſporte with my maſter *Tully*; from whom commonlie I am never wont to diſſent. He himſelfe, for this point of learnyng, in his verſes doth halt a little by his leave: he could not denie it, if he were alive; nor thoſe defend him now that love him beſt. This fault I lay to his charge; bicauſe once it pleaſed him, though ſomwhat merelie, yet over-

uncurteſlie, to rayle upon poore *Englande*, objecting both extreme beggarie, and mere barbarioufnes unto it, writyng thus unto * his frend *Atticus*: "There is not one ſcruple of ſilver in that whole iſle; or any "one that knoweth either learnyng or letter." Tullies ſaying againſte Englande.

But now, maſter *Cicero*, bleſſed be God, and his ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, whom you never knew, except it were as it pleaſed him to lighten you by ſome ſhadow; as covertlie in one place ye confeſſe, ſaying, † *Veritatis tantum umbram conſectamur*, as your maſter *Plato* did before you: bleſſed be God, I ſay, that ſixten hundred yeare after you were dead and gone, it may trewly be ſayd, that for ſilver, there is more comlie plate in one citie of *Englande*, than is in four of the proudeſt cities in all *Italie*, and take *Rome* for one of them: and for learnyng, beſide the knowledge of all learned tonges and liberal ſciences, even your owne bookes, *Cicero*, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loved, and as trewlie folowed in *Englande* at this day, as it is now, or ever was ſince your own tyme, in any place of *Italie*, either at *Arpinum*, where you was borne, or els at *Rome*, where you was brought up. And a little to brag with you, *Cicero*, where you yourſelfe, by your leave, halted in ſome point of learnyng in your own tonge, many in *Englande* at this day go ſtreight up, both in trewe ſkill, and right doing therein. Offic.

This I write, not to reprehend *Tullie*, whom above all other I like and love beſt; but to excuſe *Terence*, becauſe in hys tyme, and a good while after, poetrie was never perfited in *Latin*, untill by trew *Imitation* of the *Grecians*, it was at length brought to perfection: and alſo

* "Britannici belli exitus exſpectatur: conſtat enim aditus inſulæ eſſe munitos mirificis "molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe ullum in illa inſula, "neque ullam ſpem prædæ, niſi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut muſicis "eruditos exſpectare." *Cic. lib* 4. *Epiſt. ad Attic. ep.* 16. The ſame thing he mentions to *Trebatius*, *lib.* 7. *Fam. Epiſt.* "In Britannia nihil eſſe audio neque auri, neque argenti. "Id ſi ita eſt, eſſedum aliquod ſuadeo capias, et ad nos quamprimum recurras." But *Tacitus*, in the life of *Julius Agricola*, affirms the contrary. "Fert Britannia aurum et argen- "tum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ."

† "Nos veri juris, germanæque juſtitiæ ſolidam et expreſſam effigiem nullam tenemus: "umbrâ et imaginibus utimur: eas ipſas utinam ſequeremur! feruntur enim ex optimis na- "turæ et veritatis exemplis." *Cic. Offic. lib.* 3. *cap.* 17.

there-

thereby to exhorte the goodlie wittes of *Englande*, whiche apt by nature, and willing by deſire, give themſelves to poetrie; that they rightly underſtanding the barbarous bringing in of rymes, would labor, as *Virgil* and *Horace* did in *Latin*, to make perfit alſo this point of learnyng, in our *Engliſh* tonge. And thus much for *Plautus* and *Terence*, for matter, tonge, and meter; what is to be followed, and what to be eſchewed in them.

After *Plautus* and *Terence*, no writyng remayneth untill *Tullies* tyme, except a few ſhort fragmentes of *L. Craſſus* excellent wit, here and there * recited of *Cicero* for example ſake: whereby the lovers of learnyng may the more lament the loſſe of ſoch a worthie witte. And although the *Latin* tonge did faire bloome and bloſſome in *L. Craſſus*, and *M. Antonius*; yet in *Tullies* tyme onely, and in *Tullie* himſelfe chieflie, was the *Latin* tonge fullie ripe, and growne to the hieſt pitch of all perfection. And yet in the ſame tyme, it began to fade and ſtoupe, as *Tullie* himſelfe, in *Brutus de claris Oratoribus*, † with weeping wordes doth witneſſe.

And bicauſe amonges them of that tyme there was ſome difference, good reaſon is, that of them of that tyme ſhould be made right choice alſo. And yet let the beſt *Ciceronian* in *Italie* read *Tullies* familiar epiſtles

* In the firſt book *de Oratore*, *Antonius* recites this paſſage out of *Craſſus*'s oration to the commons of *Rome*: "Eripite nos ex miſeriis; eripite nos ex faucibus eorum, quorum cru-
"delitas noſtro ſanguine non poteſt expleri: nolite ſinere nos cuiquam ſervire, niſi vobis uni-
"verſis, quibus & poſſumus, & debemus."

And in his introduction to the third, *Tully* produces this ſhort, but admirable fragment, out of his ſpeech, delivered in the ſenate-houſe againſt the Conſul *Philip*: "An tu, cùm
"omnem authoritatem univerſi ordinis pro pignore putaris, eamque in conſpectu populi Ro-
"mani concideris; me his pignoribus exiſtimas poſſe terreri? Non tibi illa ſunt cædenda,
"ſi Craſſum vis coercere. Hæc tibi eſt excidenda lingua: qua vel evulſa, ſpiritu ipſo libi-
"dinem tuam libertas mea refutabit."

† "Etenim ſi viveret Q. Hortenſius, cætera fortaſſe deſideraret unà cum reliquis bonis,
"et fortibus civibus; hunc autem & præter cæteros, aut cum paucis ſuſtineret dolorem,
"cùm forum populi Romani, quod fuiſſet quaſi theatrum illius ingenii, voce erudita, & Ro-
"manis Græciſque auribus digna, ſpoliatum, atque orbatum videret. ———
"Nam mihi, Brute, in te intuenti crebrò in mentem venit vereri, ecquodnam curriculum
"aliquando ſit habitura tua et natura admirabilis, & exquiſita doctrina, & ſingularis induſtria.
"Cùm enim in maximis cauſis verſatus eſſes, & cum tibi ætas noſtra jam cederet, faſceſque
"ſubmitteret, ſubitò in civitate cùm alia ceciderunt, tum etiam ea ipſa, de qua diſputare
"ordimur, eloquentia obmutuit." *Cic. de claris Orat.*

adviſ-

adviſedly over, and I believe he ſhall finde ſmall difference for the *Latin* tonge, either in proprietie of wordes, or framing of the ſtile, betwixt *Tullie*, and thoſe that write unto him: as *Ser. Sulpitius*, *A. Cecina*, *M. Cælius*, *M. & D. Bruti*, *A. Pollio*, *L. Plancus*, and diverſe other. Read the epiſtles of *L. Plancus* in the tenth book; and for an aſſay, that epiſtle namely to the conſuls, and whole ſenate, the eighth epiſtle in number; and what could be either more eloquentlie, or more wiſelie written, yea by *Tullie* himſelfe, a man may juſtlie doubt. Thies men and *Tullie* lived all in one tyme; were like in authority, not unlike in learnyng and ſtudie; which might be juſt cauſes of this their equalitie in writing. And yet ſurelie, they neither were in deede, nor yet were counted in mens opinions, equal with *Tullie* in that facultie.

And how is the difference hid in his epiſtles? Verelie, as the cunning of an expert ſeaman, in a faire calme freſh river, doth little differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein; even ſo, in the ſhort cut of a private letter, where matter is common, wordes eaſie, and order not moch diverſe, ſmall ſhew of difference can appeare. But where *Tullie* doth ſet up his ſaile of eloquence in ſome broad deep argument, carried with full tyde and wynde of his witte and learnyng; all other may rather ſtand and looke after him, than hope to overtake him, what courſe ſoever he hold, either in faire or foule.

Foure men only when the *Latin* tonge was full ripe, be left unto us, who in that time did flouriſh, and did leave to poſteritie the fruit of their witte and learnyng; *Varro*, *Saluſt*, *Cæſar*, and *Cicero*. When I ſay theſe foure only, I am not ignorant, that even in the ſame tyme moſt excellent poetes, deſerving well of the *Latin* tonge, as *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, did write. But bicauſe in this little booke I purpoſe to teach a yong ſcholer to go, not to daunce; to ſpeake, not to ſing; (when poetes indeede, namely *Epici* and *Lyrici*, as theſe be, are fine daunceers, and trim ſingers) but *Oratores* and *Hiſtorici* be thoſe comlie goers, and faire and wiſe ſpeakers, of whom I wiſhe my ſcholer to wayte upon firſt; and after in good order, and due tyme, to be brought forth to the ſinging and daunceing ſchole. And for this conſideration I do meane theſe foure, to be the onlie writers of that tyme.

VARRO.

Varro. *Varro*, in his bookes *de Lingua Latina*, & *Analogia*, as theſe be left mangled and patched unto us, doth not enter there into any great depth of eloquence; but as one carried in a ſmall low veſſel himſelfe verie nigh the common ſhore, not much unlike the fiſher men of *Rye*, and hering men of *Yarmouth*, who deſerve by common mens opinion, ſmall commendation for any cunning ſailing at all. Yet neverthelefs in thoſe bookes of *Varro*, good and neceſſarie ſtuffe for that meane kinde of argument, is verie well and learnedlie gathered together.

De Re Ruſtica. His bookes of huſbandrie are moch to be regarded, and diligentlie to be read, not onelie for the proprietie, but alſo for the plentie of good wordes in all contrey and huſbandmens affaires; which cannot be had by ſo good authoritie out of any other author, either of ſo good a tyme, or of ſo great learnyng, as out of *Varro*. And yet, bicauſe * he was foure ſcore year olde when he wrote thoſe bookes, the forme of his ſtyle there compared with *Tullies* writyng, is but even the talke of a ſpent old man: whoſe wordes commonlie fall out of his mouth, though verie wiſelie, yet hardly and coldlie, and more heavelie alſo, than ſome eares can well beare, except onelie for age, and authorities ſake; and perchance, in a rude and contrey argument, of purpoſe and judgement he rather uſed the ſpeach of the contrey, than the talke of the citie.

And ſo, for matter ſake, his wordes ſometyme be ſomewhat rude; and by the imitation of the elder *Cato*, old and out of uſe. And being deepe ſtept in age, by negligence ſome wordes do ſo ſcape and fall from him in thoſe bookes, as be not worth the taking up by him that is carefull to ſpeake or write trew *Latin*; † as that ſentence in him,

* For this we have *Varro*'s own words, in the beginning of his firſt book of *Country Affairs*: "Otium ſi eſſem conſecutus, Fundania, commodius tibi hæc ſcriberem, quæ nunc, ut potero, exponam, cogitans eſſe properandum: quòd, ut dicitur, ſi eſt homo bulla, eo magis ſenex. Annus enim octogeſimus admonet me, ut ſarcinas colligam antequam proficiſcar è vita."

† This citation I have corrected from *Victorius*'s edition. The whole ſentence is this: "Itaque non ſine cauſa majores noſtri ex urbe in agris redigebant ſuos cives, quod & in pace à ruſticis Romanis alebantur, & in bello ab his tuebantur."

Et

Et in pace à ruſticis Romanis alebantur, & in bello ab his tuebantur. A good ſtudent muſt be therefore careful and diligent, to read with judgement over even thoſe authors, which did write in the moſt perfite tyme. And let him not be affrayd to try them, both in proprietie of wordes, and forme of ſtile, by the touch ſtone of *Cæſar* and *Cicero*; whoſe puritie was never foiled, no not by the ſentence of thoſe, that loved them worſt.

The loſs of Varroes bookes.

All lovers of learnyng may ſore lament the loſs of thoſe bookes of *Varro*, which he wrote in his yong and luſtie yeares, with good leiſure, and great * learnyng, of all parts of philoſophie; of the goodlieſt argumentes perteyning both to the common wealth, and private life of man; as, *de Ratione Studii & de Liberis Educandis*; which booke is oft recited, and moch prayſed, in the fragmentes of *Nonius*, even for authoritie ſake. He wrote moſt diligentlie and largelie alſo the whole hiſtorie of the ſtate of *Rome*; the myſteries of their whole religion; their laws, cuſtoms, and government in peace; their maners, and whole diſcipline in warre. And this is not my gueſſing, as one indeed that never ſaw thoſe bookes; but even the verie judgement, and plaine teſtimonie of *Tullie* himſelfe, who knew and read theſe bookes, † in theſe wordes: *Tu ætatem patriæ; tu deſcriptiones temporum; tu ſacrorum jura; tu ſacerdotum; tu domeſticam, tu bellicam diſciplinam; tu ſedem regionum, locorum; tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, cauſas aperuiſti, &c.* Acad. Quæſt.

But this great loſſe of *Varro*, is a little recompenſed by the ‡ happy coming of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* to *Rome* in *Auguſtus* dayes: who getting

* *Quintilian*'s character and judgment of this learned writer, we have in his tenth book *de Inſt. Orat.* "Alterum illud eſt, & prius Satyræ genus, quod non ſola carminum varietate "miſtum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditiſſimus. Plurimos hic libros, "& doctiſſimus compoſuit, peritiſſimus linguæ Latinæ, & omnis antiquitatis, & rerum Græ-"carum noſtrarumque; plus tamen ſcientiæ collaturus, quàm eloquentiæ."

† This paſſage taken out of *Tully*'s firſt book of his *Academical Queſtions*, St. *Auguſtine* has alſo cited ſomewhat more fully in his ſixth book *de Civitate Dei*.

‡ Ἐγὼ καλαπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἅμα τῷ καλαλυθῆναι τὸν Ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῦ Σεβαςῦ Καίσαρος. This account he gives of himſelf in the introduction to his hiſtory; and

getting the poſſeſſion of *Varros* librarie, out of that treaſure houſe of learnyng did leave unto us ſome frute of *Varros* witte and diligence; I meane, his goodlie bookes *de Antiquitatibus Romanis*. *Varro* was ſo eſteemed for his excellent learnyng, as *Tullie* himſelfe had a reverence to his judgement in all doutes of learnyng. And *Antonius Triumvir*, his enemie, and of a contrarie faction, who had power to kill and baniſh whom he liſted; * when *Varros* name amongeſt others, was brought in a ſchedule unto him, to be noted to death, he tooke his penne, and wrote his warrant of ſavegard, with theſe moſt goodlie wordes, *Vivat Varro, vir doctiſſimus*. In later tyme, no man knew better, nor liked nor loved more *Varros* learnyng, than did St. *Auguſtine*; as they do well underſtand, that have diligentlie read over his learned bookes *de Civitate Dei*: where he hath this moſt notable † ſentence; "When I ſee how much *Varro* wrote, I marvell much, that ever he "had any leaſure to read: and when I perceive how many thinges he "read, I marvell more, that ever he had any leaſure to write."

Cic. ad Att.

in his ſecond book, he makes this honourable mention of *Varro*: Λέγω δὲ ἃ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων ἐν Ἀρχαιολογίαις ἔγραψεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν καλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων πολυπειρότατος. The loſs alſo of ſo many of *Dionyſius*'s books we may juſtly lament: for had they been preſerv'd entire, we ſhould much leſs have perceiv'd the want of *Varro*'s learning and diligence: or to uſe *Balthaſar Bonifacius*'s words, "Si hiſtoria Dionyſii integra exſtaret, nihil eſſet, cur "Varronis Theſauros quæreremus."

* Whence our author had this account, I know not: the margin directs to *Cic. ad Attic.* but I find no ſuch paſſage. It ſeems to be a miſtake of memory. *Appian*, in his 4th book of the Civil Wars, gives a very different relation. Φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων, καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καλενὸς ἐξενίκησε, καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύει, κατήγετο, καὶ τον Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηνε θεραπόντων, ὅτε αὐτὸς Οὐάρρων, ὅτε Καλενός. See the ſecond *Philip.* near the end.

† The ſecond chapter of St. *Auguſtine*'s ſixth book, is wholly ſpent in admiration of *Varro*'s learning and induſtry; where this following paſſage is, to which Mr. *Aſcham* alludes:

"Iſte igitur vir, tam inſignis excellentiſque peritiæ, & quod de illo etiam Terentianus "elegantiſſimo verſiculo breviter ait;

Vir doctiſſimus undecunque Varro:

"qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei ſcribere vacaſſe miremur: tam multa ſcripſit, quàm multa "vix quenquam legere potuiſſe arbitror."

The number of his works is almoſt incredible. *Aulus Gellius* relates from *Varro*'s own words, that in his 84th year, he had writ four hundred and ninety books: but that his library having been plundered during his proſcription, ſeveral of them were afterwards miſſing. "Tum ibi addit, ſe quoque jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingreſſum eſſe, & ad "eum diem ſeptuaginta hebdomadas librorum conſcripſiſſe: ex quibus aliquam multos, "quum proſcriptus eſſet, direptis bibliothecis ſuis, non comparuiſſe."

And ſurelie, if *Varros* bookes had remained to poſteritie, as by Gods providence the moſt part of *Tullie* did, then trewlie the *Latin* tonge might have made good compariſon with the *Greke*.

Salust.

Saluſt is a wiſe and worthie writer; but he requireth a learned reader, and a right conſiderer of him. My deareſt frend, and beſt maſter that ever I had, or heard in learnyng, Syr *J. Cheke*, (ſoch a man, as if I ſhould live to ſee *Englande* breed the like againe, I feare, I ſhould live over long) did once give me a leſſon for *Saluſt*, which, as I ſhall never forget myſelfe, ſo is it worthie to be remembred of all thoſe that would come to perfite judgement of the *Latin* tonge. He ſaid, that *Saluſt* was not very fitte for young men to learne out of him the puritie of the *Latin* tonge; becauſe he was not the pureſt in the proprietie of wordes, nor choiſeſt in aptnes of phraſes, nor the beſt in framing of ſentences; and therefore is his writing, ſayd he, neyther plaine for the matter, nor ſenſible for mens underſtanding.

Sir John Chekes judgement, and counſel for reading of Saluſt.

" And what is the cauſe thereof, Syr?" quoth I. " Verelie, ſaid he, bi-
" cauſe in *Saluſtes* writing, is more arte than nature, and more labor
" than arte: and in his labor alſo to moch toyle; as it were, with an
" uncontented care to write better than he could; a fault common to
" verie many men. And therefore he doth not expreſſe the matter
" lively and naturally with common ſpeach, as ye ſee *Xenophon* doth in
" *Greke*; but it is carried and driven forth artificiallie after to learned
" a ſorte, as *Thucydides* doth in his orations."

" And how cometh it to paſſe, ſaid I, that *Cæſar* and *Ciceroes* talke
" is ſo natural and plaine, and *Saluſts* writing ſo artificial and darke;
" when all they three lived in one tyme?" " I will freely tell you my
" fanſie herein," ſaid he.

" Surely *Cæſar* and *Cicero*, beſide a ſingular prerogative of natural
" eloquence, given unto them by God; both two by uſe of life were
" daylie orators amonges the common people, and greateſt councellors
" in the ſenate houſe: and therefore gave themſelves to uſe ſoch ſpeech,

" as the meaneſt ſhould well underſtand, and the wiſeſt beſt allow: " folowing carefullie that good counſell of *Ariſtotle*, *Loquendum, ut multi*; *ſapiendum, ut pauci*.

" *Saluſt* was no ſoch man, neyther for will to goodneſs, nor ſkill by " learnyng; but ill given by nature, and made worſe by bringing up; " * ſpent the moſt part of his youth very miſorderly in riot and leachery, in the company of ſoch, who never giving their minde to " honeſt doyng, could never inure their tonge to wiſe ſpeaking. But at " laſt coming to better years, and buying witte at the deareſt hand, " (that is, by long experience of the hurt and ſhame that cometh of " miſchief) moved by the counſell of them that were wiſe, and carried " by the example of ſoch as were good; he firſt fell to honeſtie of life, " and after to the love of ſtudie and learnyng: and ſo became ſo new a " man, that *Cæſar* being dictator, made him prætor in *Numidia*; where " he, abſent from his contrie, and not inured with the common talke " of *Rome*, but ſhut up in his ſtudie, and bent wholie upon reading, did " write the ſtorie of the *Romans*. And for the better accompliſhing of " the ſame, he read *Cato* and *Piſo* in *Latin*, for gathering of matter and " troth; and *Thucydides* in *Greke*, for the order of his ſtorie, and furniſhing of his ſtyle.

" *Cato* (as his tyme required) had more troth for the matter, than " eloquence for the ſtyle. And ſo *Saluſt*, † by gathering troth out of " *Cato*, ſmelleth moch of the roughnes of his ſtyle: even as a man " that eateth garlike for helth, ſhall cary away with him the ſavor of " it alſo, whether he will or not. And yet the uſe of old wordes, is " not the greateſt cauſe of *Saluſtes* roughnes and darkeneſſe. There be

* " Hæc oſtendunt, *inquit Ger. Voſſius*, vitam Salluſtii laudari à nemine poſſe. Nempe " omnis ejus gloria à præclaris ſcriptis proficiſcitur."

† His extreme affectation, and fondneſs for *Cato*'s language, is ſeverely cenſured in an old epigram, made by no friend, as it appears, of *Saluſte*'s, and mentioned by *Quintilian*. " Nec minus noto Salluſtius epigrammate inceſſitur,

Et verba antiqui multùm furate Catonis
Criſpe, Jugurthinæ conditor hiſtoriæ.

" in

" in *Saluſt* * ſome old wordes indeed, as *patrare bellum*, *ductare exerci-*
" *tum*, well noted by *Quintilian*, and verie much miſliked of him. And
" † *ſupplicium* for *ſupplicatio*; a word ſmelling of an older ſtore than the
" other two, ſo miſliked by *Quintilian*. And yet is that word alſo in
" *Varro*, ſpeaking of oxen thus, *Ad victimas farciunt, atque ad Deo-*
" *rum ſervant ſupplicia:* and a few old wordes mo.

" Read *Saluſt* and *Tullie* adviſedlie together, and in wordes you ſhall
" finde ſmall difference: yea *Saluſt* is more given to new wordes than
" to olde, though ſome writers ſay the contrarie: as ‡ *claritudo*,
" for *gloria*; † *exactè*, for *perfectè*; || *facundia* for *eloquentia*. Theſe two
" laſt

* " Ni multitudo togatorum fuiſſet, quæ Numidas inſequentes prohibuit, uno die inter
" duos reges cœptum atque patratum foret bellum:" in his *Jugurthine* war. And again, in the ſame hiſtory; " Tamen ſpe patrandi belli." So likewiſe, " Ductare exercitum," in his *Catilinarian* conſpiracy; " Quia Cn. Pompeius inviſus ipſi, magnum exercitum ductabat." And in his hiſtory of *Jugurtha*; " Ipſe quaſi vitabundus, per ſaltuoſa loca, & tramites exer-
" citum ductare."

Theſe expreſſions in *Salluſte*, *Quintilian* does indeed take notice of; but not ſo much to find fault with the hiſtorian for uſing them, as with the age wherein he lived, and ſome idle wits, who ſtrained the ſignification of theſe words to a looſe and wanton meaning, quite contrary to the hiſtorian's intention and deſign.

" Vel hoc vitium ſit, quod κακόφαλον vocatur: ſive mala conſuetudine in obſcænum in-
" tellectum ſermo detortus eſt, ut, *ductare exercitum*, &, *patrare bellum*, apud Salluſtium
" dicta ſanctè & antiquè, ridentur à nobis, ſi diis placet: quam culpam non ſcribentium
" quidem judico, ſed legentium: tamen vitanda, quatenus verba honeſta moribus perdidi-
" mus, & evincentibus etiam vitiis cedendum eſt."

† " Itaque ſenatus ob ea feliciter acta, Diis immortalibus ſupplicia decernere." *Bello Jugurthino.* The following paſſage is in *Varro*'s ſecond book *de Re Ruſtica*, *cap.* 5. but ill printed in the firſt edition. " Tametſi quidam de Italicis, quos propter amplitudinem præſtare
" dicunt, ad victimas farciunt, atque ad Deorum ſervant ſupplicia." And in his *Catil.*
" In ſuppliciis Deorum magnifici, domi parci."

‡ " Cùm præſertim tam multæ variæque ſint artes animi, quibus ſumma claritudo paratur:" in his preface to the *Jugurthine* war. And a little after, ſpeaking of *Jugurtha*; " In tantam
" claritudinem brevi pervenerat, uti noſtris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori
" eſſet."

† In *Horace* we have the participle *exactis*.

——— *Sed emendata videri,*
Pulchraque, et exactis minimùm diſtantia, miror.

|| " Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuiſſe." *Bello Catil.* And in his *Jugurthine:* " Sed, quoniam ea tempeſtate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollenſque fuit." Now whatever *Tully*'s reaſons were for refuſing this word, yet *Horace*, it is very certain, and *Ovid*, were neither of them ſo nice in this reſpect. The former uſes it at leaſt four times; and

" laſt wordes, *exactè* and *facundia*, now in every mans mouth, be ne-
" ver, as I do remember, uſed of *Tullie*; and therefore I thinke they be
" not good. For ſurely *Tullie*, ſpeaking every where ſo much of the
" matter of eloquence, would not ſo preciſely have abſteyned from the
" worde *facundia*, if it had been good; that is, proper for the tonge,
" and common for mens uſe.

The cauſe why Saluſt is not like Tullie.

" I could be long in reciting many ſoch like, both olde and new
" wordes in *Saluſt:* but in verie deed, neyther oldnes nor newnes of
" wordes, maketh the greateſt difference betwixt *Saluſt* and *Tullie:* but
" firſt, ſtrange phraſes, made of good *Latin* wordes, but framed after
" the *Greeke* tonge; which be neyther choiſely borrowed of them, nor
" properly uſed by him: then a hard compoſition, and crooked fram-
" ing of his wordes and ſentences; as a man would ſay, *Engliſh* talke
" placed and framed outlandiſh-like. As for example firſt in phraſes:

" *Nimius* and *animus*, be two uſed wordes: yet * *homo nimius animi*, is
" an unuſed phraſe. *Vulgus*, and *amat*, and *fieri*, be as common and well
" known wordes as may be in the *Latin* tonge: yet † *id quod vulgo*

and *Ulyſſes*'s ſpeech is well known. And what is more to the purpoſe, *Terence* has it in his prologue to *Heautont.* But here we muſt obſerve, words that will ſuit with poetry will not do ſo with oratory, as *Tully* himſelf declares in his book *de Oratore.*

* This phraſe, as I remember, is only in his Fragments: " Impotens, & nimius animi eſt." In the ſame ſenſe is that of *Horace*, " Nimium mero Hylæum."

† If I miſtake not, this expreſſion is no where to be found in *Sal'uſte*; but is formed by Mr. *Aſcham* in imitation of his ſtile in other places. *Quintilian*, in his ninth book, has a paſſage not unlike it: " Ex Græco verò tranſlata vel Salluſtii plurima: quale eſt, *Vulgus amat* " *fieri.*" And in his *Jugurthine* war: " Tametſi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, ve-
" hementer accenſa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, ſæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ
" ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia."

In this place, we have *amat* either uſed as an impersonal, or elſe (what is ſtill more harſh, and repugnant to the *Latin* conſtruction) in imitation of the *Greek* tongue, joined to a nominative plural: in which language φιλεῖ is frequent enough in this ſenſe; and ſo are οἴδε, ἐπίσαλαι, πέφυκε, but more eſpecially among the poets.

As to the word itſelf, whatever objections it may be liable to in proſe, where every thing ſhould be plain and eaſy; yet I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be excluded poetry. *Horace*, I'm ſure, had no ſuch ſcruple againſt it, as appears from theſe lines, ſecure of any cenſure.

Aurum per medios ire ſatellites
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

" *amat*

" *amat fieri*, for *ſolet fieri*, is but a ſtrange and *Grekiſh* kind of writ-
" ing. *Ingens* and *vires*, be proper wordes; yet * *vir ingens virium*, is an
" unproper kinde of ſpeaking. And ſo be likewiſe *æger conſilii*, *promp-*
" *tiſſimus belli*, *territus animi*, and many ſuch like phraſes in *Saluſt*,
" borowed, as I ſayd, not choiſly out of *Greke*, and uſed therefore un-
" properlie in *Latin*.

" Againe, in whole ſentences, where the matter is good, the wordes
" proper and plaine, yet the ſenſe is hard and darke; and namely in
" his prefaces and orations, wherein he uſed moſt labor. Which fault is
" likewiſe in *Thucydides* in *Greke*, of whom *Saluſt* hath taken the great-
" eſt part of his darkneſſe. For *Thucydides* likewiſe wrote his ſtorie,
" not at home in *Grece*, but abroad in *Italie*; and therefore ſmelleth of
" a certaine outlandiſh kinde of talke, ſtrange to them of *Athens*, and
" diverſe from their writing that lived in *Athens* and *Greece*, and wrote
" the ſame time that *Thucydides* did: as *Lyſias*, *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Iſocra-*
" *tes*, the pureſt and playneſt writers that ever wrote in any tonge,
" and beſt examples for any man to follow, whether he write *Latin*,
" *Italian*, *French*, or *Engliſh*. *Thucydides* alſo ſemeth in his writing,
" not ſo much benefited by nature, as holpen by arte, and carried forth
" by deſire, ſtudie, labor, toyle, and over great curioſitie: who ſpent
" twenty ſeven yeares in writing his eight bookes of his hiſtory. *Sa-*
" *luſt* likewiſe wrote out of his contrie, and followed the faultes of
" *Thucydides* to much; and boroweth of him ſome kinde of writing,
" which the *Latin* tonge can not well beare; as † *caſus nominativus* in di-
" verſe

* This expreſſion is only to be met with in the Fragments: " Ingens ipſe virium, atque
" animi." And ſo is *Conſilii æger:* and likewiſe this ſentence, " Neque virgines nuptum à
" parentibus mittebantur, ſed ipſæ belli promptiſſimos delegebant." And laſtly, " Tetrar-
" chas regeſque territos animi firmavit."

† Here, for want of better copies, theſe two learned gentlemen were led aſide to a wrong cenſure of their author. For this paſſage, beyond all diſpute, (as later editions have ſettled it) is thus to be read; " Itaque ab imperatore facilè, quæ petebant, adepti. Miſſæ ſunt eo co-
" hortes Ligurum quatuor, & C. Annius præfectus." 'Tis a ſhort ſcheme of ſpeech, familiar to *Salluſte*, and other writers; wherein the auxiliary verb *ſunt* is elegantly left out. In the ſame manner, *Livy* ſpeaking of *Tullus Hoſtilius:* " Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albæ.
" utrinque legati fere ſub idem tempus ad res repetendas miſſi."

And is not this a demonſtration of the neceſſity of correct and accurate editions? Will not this alſo teach ſome men of letters civility, and good manners? Will not this oblige them to modeſty,

" verſe places *abſolutè poſitus*; as in that place of his *Jugurthine* war, ſpeak-
" ing *de Leptitanis: Itaque ab imperatore facilè quæ petebant, adepti, miſſæ*
" *ſunt eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor.* This thing in participles, uſed ſo oft
" in *Thucydides*, and other *Greeke* authors to, may better be borne with-
" all; but *Saluſt* uſeth the ſame more ſtrangelie and boldlie, as * in
" thies wordes; *Multis ſibi quiſque imperium petentibus.* I believe, the
" beſt grammarian in *Englande* can ſcarce give a good rule, why *quiſque*
" the nominative caſe, without any verbe, is ſo thruſt up amongeſt ſo
" many oblique caſes."

Some man perchance will ſmile, and laugh to ſcorne this my writ-ing, and call it idle curioſitie, thus to buſie myſelfe in picking about theſe ſmall pointes of grammer; not fitte for my age, place and cal-ling, to trifle in. I truſt that man, be he never ſo great in authoritie, never ſo wiſe and learned, either by other mens judgement, or his own opinion, will yet thinke, that he is not greater in *Englande*, than *Tullie* was at *Rome*; nor yet wiſer, nor better learned, than *Tullie* was him-

modeſty, if they chance to ſee a little better than others in the ſame argument, and diſcover a miſtake, that has eſcaped the obſervation of ſuch as have gone before? Will any one pronounce his fellow-ſtudent ignorant and illiterate, for ſome little omiſſion or inadvertency, when he ſees two ſuch champions in all polite learning, foiled for want only of one ſingle point fixed in its right place? So liable to error is human frailty! ſo ſhort-ſighted is the keeneſt eye! and ſo narrow and confin'd is the moſt comprehenſive underſtanding!

* " Sed poſtquam in Hiſpania Hercules, ſicut Afri putant, interiit: exercitus ejus com-
" poſitus ex gentibus variis, amiſſo duce, ac paſſim multis ſibi quiſque imperium petentibus,
" brevi dilabitur."

This is the ſentence at length: and I perceive learned men have given themſelves no ſmall trouble, tho' indeed to little purpoſe, in reconciling it to the rules of common ſyntax. And yet what can be more eaſy, if we thus ſupply what is certainly to be underſtood? *Multis (ſibi quiſque ſcilicet petebat) imperium petentibus.* This I take to be the right way to account for it. One ſentence, wherein ſtronger affirmation is made, reſpecting each individual, in a ſhort ſuccinct form of ſpeaking, is included in another.

But if this be thought ſo difficult a queſtion, as to have the ableſt grammarian in *England* called upon to clear it; what ſhall we ſay to this conſtruction in *Livy*, *Raptim quibus quiſque poterat elatis*; which I take to be much more knotty and intricate? 'Tis in his firſt book, where he is deſcribing the ruins of *Alba*. Here, if I miſtake not, we have a pure *Attick* idiom brought to *Rome*; the relative and antecedent being joined in the ſame caſe. In plain language fully expreſſed, it ought to have been, *Raptim iis, quæ quiſque poterat efferre, elatis.*

Theſe conſtructions I look upon as pleaſing irregularities, or fond innovations, what the *Greeks* call σχήματα καινοπρεπείας, at firſt forwardly introduced, and afterwards by uſe and cuſtom eſtabliſhed. Of this nature are, *Cui nomen Iulo*, and *Lactea nomen erat*, and ſuch like; thought, no queſtion, to be beauties, like *moles* in a fair face.

ſelfe: who, at the pitch of threeſcore yeares, in the middes of the broyle betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompei*, when he knew not whither to ſend wife and children, which way to go, where to hide himſelfe; yet in an earneſt letter, amongeſt his earneſt councels for thoſe heavie tymes, concerning both the common ſtate of his contrey, and his own private affaires, he was neither unmyndfull, nor aſhamed to reaſon at large, and learne gladlie of *Atticus*, a leſſe point of grammer, than theſe be, noted of me in *Saluſte:* * as whether he ſhould write *ad Piræea*, *in Piræea*, or, *in Piræeum*, or, *Piræeum*, *ſine Præpoſitione*. And in thoſe heavie tymes he was ſo carefull to know this ſmall point of grammar, that he addeth theſe wordes, *Si hoc mihi ζήτημα perſolveris*, *magna me moleſtia liberâris*.

If *Tullie*, at that age, in that authoritie, in that care for his contrey, in that jeopardie for himſelfe, and extreme neceſſitie of hys deareſt frendes, being alſo the prince of eloquence hymſelfe, was not aſhamed to deſcend to theſe low pointes of grammer in his owne naturall tonge; what ſhould ſcholers do? yea what ſhould any man do, if he do think well doyng better than ill doyng, and had rather be perfite than meane, ſure than doutefull; to be what he ſhould be, in deed; and not ſeem what he is not, in opinion? He that maketh perfitnes in the *Latin* tonge his marke, muſt come to it by choice and certain knowledge, not ſtumble upon it by chance and doutfull ignorance. And the right ſteppes to reach unto it be theſe, linked thus orderlie together, aptnes of nature, love of learnyng, diligence in right order, conſtancie with pleaſant moderation, and alwayes to learne of them that be beſt; and ſo ſhall you judge as they that be wiſeſt. And theſe be thoſe rules which worthie

* "Venio ad Piræea, in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quòd homo Romanus *Piræea* "ſcripſerim, non *Piræeum*, (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quam quòd *in* addiderim. "Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſ-"cum, & Nicias Cous non rebatur, oppidum eſſe Piræea, ſed de re videro. Noſtrum qui-"dem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non, ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco; ſe-"cutuſque ſum, non dico Cæcilium, *Mane ut ex portu in Piræeum*; (malus enim auctor La-"tinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam putabantur à C. Lælio ſcribi: "*Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli eoiimus in Piræeum.*" ('Tis much better in the editions of *Terence*, *in* Piræeo) "& idem, *Mercator hoc addebat*, *captam è Sunio*. Quod ſi δήμους oppida eſſe "volumus; tam eſt oppidum Sunium, quàm Piræeus. Sed, quoniam grammaticus es, ſi "hoc mihi ζήτημα perſolveris, magna me moleſtia liberâris."

Mr. *Cheke* dyd impart unto me concerning *Saluſte*, and the right judgement of the *Latin* tonge.

CÆSAR.

Cæſar, for that little of him, that is left unto us, * is like the halfe face of a *Venus*, the other part of the head being hidden, the bodie and the reſt of the members unbegun; yet ſo excellentlie done by *Apelles*, as all men may ſtand ſtill to maze and muſe upon it; and no man ſtep forth with any hope to performe the like.

His ſeven bookes *de Bello Gallico*, and three *de Bello Civili*, be written ſo wiſelie for the matter, ſo eloquentlie for the tonge, that neither his greateſt enemies could ever finde the leaſt note of parcialitie in him, (a marvelous wiſdom of a man, namely wryting of his own doynges) nor yet the beſt judgers of the *Latin* tonge, nor the moſt envious lookers upon other mens wrytinges, can ſay any other, but all thinges be moſt perfitlie done by him.

Brutus, *Calvus*, and *Calidius*, † who found fault with *Tullies* fulnes in wordes and matter, and that rightlie; for *Tullie* did both confeſſe it, and mend it: yet in *Cæſar* they neither did, nor could finde the like, or any other faulte.

And therefore thus juſtlie I may conclude of *Cæſar*, that whereas in all other, the beſt that ever wrote in any tyme, or in any tonge, in *Greke* or *Latin*, (I except neither *Plato*, *Demoſthenes*, nor *Tullie*) ſome fault is juſtlie noted; in *Cæſar* onelie could never yet fault be found.

* "Accedit eodem teſtis locuples Poſidonius, qui etiam ſcribit in quadam epiſtola, Pub. "Rutilium Rufum dicere ſolere, qui Panætium audierat, ut nemo pictor eſſet inventus, qui "Coæ Veneris eam partem, quam Apelles inchoatam reliquiſſet, abſolveret: (oris enim "pulchritudo reliqui corporis imitandi ſpem auferebat) ſic ea, quæ Panætius prætermiſiſſet, "& non perfeciſſet, propter eorum, quæ perfeciſſet, præſtantiam, neminem eſſe perſecutum." *Cic. de Offic. lib.* 3.

† "Satis conſtat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuiſſe, quibus inflatus et tumens, "nec ſatis preſſus, ſupra modum exultans et ſuperfluens et parum Atticus videretur." *Dialogus de Oratoribus.*

Yet

Yet nevertheleſſe, for all this perfite excellencie in him, yet it is but one member of eloquence, and that but of one ſide neither; when we muſt looke for that example to follow, which hath a perfite head, a whole bodie, forward and backward, armes and legges and all.

THUS are we come to the end of what is left us on this ſubject, by this truly learned and ingenious writer; whoſe excellent judgment and abilities ſeem little inferiour to the ableſt maſters of antiquity: and had he lived to have perfected, what is here but a rough draught, at beſt, an unfiniſhed work; I much queſtion, whether any rhetorician, either *Greek* or *Roman*, would have been of more uſe in the ſtudy of oratory, or deſerved greater eſteem of learned men. But here I muſt add his own ſimilitude, and compare him, as he did *Cæſar*, to the inimitable face of the *Coan Venus*, drawn by the hand of *Apelles*; unhappily left imperfect, and ever ſo to remain, for want of an able artiſt of equal ſkill, to give it its juſt beauty, and to add ſome little colouring, and ornament, which ſeem defective.

In order to make the piece complete, as I think, a full and diſtinct character of *Tully*, together with a whole chapter about Declamation, or the conſtant exerciſe and practice of invention, is ſtill wanting. *Tully* by our author is joined with *Varro*, *Salluſte*, and *Cæſar*, as the moſt unexceptionable writers of the pureſt age, and beſt patterns for imitation. And how comes he, whom Mr. *Aſcham* chiefly admires, when the other three are ſo largely deſcribed, to be paſſed over in ſilence? And yet this he ſeems to promiſe, p. 323, in theſe words: *But of* Cicero *more fully in fitter place:* unleſs we ſay, he reſerved this for his *Latin* work; which doth not ſeem probable. Again, p. 267, Mr. *Aſcham* tells us, *there are ſix ways appointed for the learning of tongues, and increaſe of eloquence*, which he deſigns particularly to treat of. Declamation is the laſt there mentioned, and yet we have not one word about it.

But if any one is not yet ſatisfied with what I ſay, Mr. *Aſcham*'s letter to his friend *Sturmius* of *Straſburgh*, printed at the end of this treatiſe, wherein he gives a full account of his Schole-maſter, will ſufficiently convince him. In one place, he modeſtly deſires leave of his friend, to make uſe of the ſame inſtance out of *Tully*, for a farther illuſtration of the argument in hand, as he had done before him. And afterwards, near the end of the ſame letter, he earneſtly entreats *Sturmius* to ſend him with all ſpeed what he had lately writ on the ſame ſubject; that his Schole-maſter, as yet almoſt naked and unſightly, might thence receive ſome better dreſs, before he appeared in publick. But theſe paſſages being no where to be found in this treatiſe before us, prove beyond exception, that as excellent as this work is, yet it was deſigned for farther improvements, and greater perfection, had the author enjoyed a longer life.

This is what I thought neceſſary to acquaint the reader with, before I took my leave of him; not doubting in the leaſt of his candour and ingenuity, either towards the author, or myſelf: nor have I any thing more to add, but an earneſt recommendation (if that is ſtill neceſſary) of this little work, in itſelf almoſt invaluable, to the careful peruſal and ſtudy of all young gentlemen, for whoſe uſe it was at firſt deſigned, and is now publiſhed.

The ENDE of the SCHOLE MASTER.

CAMBDENUS.

Penultimus * hujus anni dies (Digreſſiunculæ in boni viri memoriam ignoſcite) ultimus erat Rogero Aſchamo, qui in Eboracenſi Comitatu natus, et Cantabrigiæ educatus, inter primos noſtræ nationis, literas Latinas et Græcas, ſtilique puritatem cum eloquentiæ laude, excoluit: Elizabethæ ſtudiis aliquamdiu præfuit, eidemque reginæ ab epiſtolis erat Latinis. Cum tamen aleâ et Alectryomachiâ plus nimio oblectaretur, re tenui vixit et obiit, relictis duobus libris, elegantiſſimis ingenii monumentis linguâ vernaculâ, quorum alterum *Toxophilum*, alterum *Scholarcham* inſcripſit.

* 1568.

ROGERO ASCHAMO ANGLO,

G. BUCHANANUS.

Aſchamum extinctum patriæ Grajæque Camenæ,
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.

JOAN-

JOANNI STURMIO

ROGERUS ASCHAMUS

S. P. D.

GRatum eſt, mi *Sturmi*, & mihi perjucundum, quod ſcribis de *Imitatione Oratoria*, tuis hoc tempore à te dictata. An mihi placitura ſit, quæris? Mitte quæſo, & quàm primum mitte, quæ dictata ſunt: polliceris enim, & ipſa repræſentatione nihil exoptatius, nihil longius mihi exiſtit. Meum judicium præcognoſcere vis. Non mihi tantum ſumo, mi *Sturmi*, nec conſilium libenter interpono. Sed meam de *imitandi ratione*, ſive opinionem, quæ levis eſt, ſive deſiderationem, quæ permagna eſt, ſatis quidem fusè, nimis fortaſſe audacter, aperiam. Et hæc mihi cogitanti ſubinde occurrit, quàm verum illud ſit, quod dicitur, *Amicorum omnia eſſe communia*; non tam commodorum ac fortunæ, ut ego intelligo, mutua munera, quàm animorum & voluntatis eadem ſtudia. Nec magis illa humanitatis & officiorum, quàm noſtra hæc doctrinæ & literarum.

Scribis tu de *Imitatione*; & ego nonnihil cogito de eodem argumento: ſed tu abſolutè eruditis jam, ac viris; ego inchoatè, rudibus adhuc, & pueris: & hoc quidem conſilio. Sunt mihi duo filii, *Ægidius*, & *Dudlæus Aſchami*. nam *Sturmius Aſchamus*, vivit ille quidem, ſed nunquam moriturus. Cùm his meis filiis non illuſtrem fortunæ ſplendorem promittere poſſum, aliquem certè doctrinæ cultum illis relinquere ipſe cupio. Paro igitur illis *Præceptorem*, non illum foris ſumptuoſa mercede conducendum, ſed rudi à me ſtilo domi jam delineatum. Formam ejus in duos includo libellos: prior magnam partem ἠθικὸς eſt; alter diſciplinabilis.

Et quia meus hic *Præceptor* non è Græcia, non ex Italia accerſitus, ſed in hac barbara inſula natus, & domi intra parietes meos altus eſt; propterea barbarè, hoc eſt Anglicè, loquitur. Sic enim ſermo ejus convenienter quidem, & propior & proprior horum noſtræ gentis morum eſt futurus; & noſtris, non alienis; Anglis, non exteris ſcribo. Præterea officio, quod patriæ, quod literis, utriuſque in me merito, jure quidem debeo, aliquà ex parte defunctus fuero; ſi hoc meo ſtudio, ſtudium in parentibus liberaliter fovendi, in eorum liberis alacriter diſcendi literas, poſſit nonnihil excitari.

Sed eſt *Præceptor* hic meus non Cantabrigienſis, ſed Vindeſorius: Aulicus, non Academicus. Ideoque non illuſtriorem aliquam oſtentat doctrinam; ſed mediocrem, & nonnullium, quoad poteſt, oſtendit uſum. Neque tamen ipſe ſum tam noſtræ linguæ inimicus, quin ſentiam illam omnium ornamentorum, cùm dictionis, tum ſententiarum admodum eſſe capacem; & eſſe item hoc argumentum non tam aridum, & exile, quin Anglicè etiam ἀνθηρογραφεῖσθαι poſſit; ſi in artificem aliquem, qualis fuit Checus noſter, & ſunt adhuc apud nos, Smithus, & Haddonus, incidiſſet. At ſi quid fortaſſe boni in hoc tamen libello inerit, illud omne tibi, mi Sturmi, acceptum eſt referendum. quæ enim ſcribo, ſtudui certè ut eſſent omnia Sturmiana. Et volo quidem, ut filii mei, per hoc à patre rudi more congeſtum, et perquam humile veſtibulum, in illuſtre illud, & omni artificio perpolitum, Sturmii Gymnaſium ingrediantur. Exſtabit tamen aliquid, & eminens erit, in hoc meo Σχολαστηρίῳ, perpetuum nimirum perpetui mei & in te amoris, & de te judicii teſtimonium.

Præceptor igitur hic meus ſatis habet, ſi viam rectè muniat, & quaſi per certos gradus, facilem paret adſcenſum ad ſublimiores illas rite aperiendas fores Academiæ Sturmianæ. Gradus

dus sunt hi: primus, Linguarum Versio; non dico simplicem explicationem ignotæ linguæ quæ in scholis quotidiana est, & ore præceptoris solum traditur: sed iteratam, & quasi reciprocantem duarum linguarum, utriusque utrobique vertendarum rationem. Nimirum ut Græca Latinè, & tum ut eadem ipsa Latina Græcè denuo convertantur; justa commentatione, & diligenti Scriptione cum proprio, non alieno stilo, semper adhibita. Et sic ego intelligo utile illud imprimis, & prudens consilium cùm L. Crassi in *primo de Oratore*, tum Plinii Secundi ad suum Fuscum in septimo. Atque vix credibile est, ad quàm excellentem cùm Latinè tum Græcè intelligendi facultatem, ipse Divam nostram Elizabetham, hac geminatæ conversionis ratione, scripto semper reddita, brevi tempore perduxi.

Sequuntur reliqui gradus; *Paraphrasis*, *Metaphrasis*, *Epitome*, *Imitatio*, *Commentatio*, *Scriptio*, & *Declamatio*. Per hos gradus Præceptor meus cautiùs & timidiùs, porrecta sua nonnunquam manu, discipulos suos deducit. Sunt enim hi gradus nonnihil lubrici; & facilis in illis est prolapsio, ni cautio & judicium adhibeatur. At quo feror? Næ ego temere nimis, qui, cùm faciem tantùm *Præceptoris mei* tibi ostendere volui; non solùm cætera membra aperio & explico, sed interiora illa ejus consilia & sensus omnes, nec prudenter, nec pudenter effero. Sed quid, ni planè ac palam omnia ad te? Accipe igitur, quod dicere instituì etiam de Imitatione.

In loco de Imitatione longiusculus est *Præceptor meus*. Fatetur se omnes fere & veteres & recentes, qui de Imitatione scripsere, cupidè perlegisse. Probare se multos, admirari verò neminem, præter unum Sturmium. Aliqui certè rectè, qui sint imitandi; sed quomodo instituenda sit ipsa imitandi ratio, solus docet Sturmius. Itaque, si cum illa perfectione præceptorum, quæ in *Literata tua Nobilitate*, & *Amissa dicendi Ratione*, plenissimè tradita sunt, copiam etiam exemplorum conjunxisses; quid præterea requirendum esset amplius, non video. Namque, ut in vitæ & morum, sic in doctrinæ & studiorum ratione omni, longe plus possent exempla, quàm præcepta. In illarum verò rerum sive arte, sive facultate, quæ sola imitatione perfici videntur; præcepta, aut nullum, aut perexiguum habent locum; cùm exempla isthìc vel solitaria planè regnant. Pictores, sculptores, scriptores hoc, & prudenter intelligunt, & perfectè præstant.

Atque ut Oratores etiam in horum numero collocem, movet nonnulla ratio; jubet, quæ illa est Quinctiliani auctoritas; qui dicit, Ciceronem, (nec Cicero de se hoc ipse tacet) jucunditatem Isocratis, copiam Platonis, vim Demosthenis effinxisse. & *effingere*, in imitatione nec ne propriam sedem habeat, omnes vident. Verum enimvero ostendere, & judicare solum, ubi hoc facit Cicero, mediocris diligentiæ, vulgaris & quotidiani est laboris. Hoc Perionius, Victorius, Stephanus, & alii in Cicerone: hoc Macrobius, Hessus, & nuper diligentissimè omnium Fulvius Ursinus, in Virgilio: hoc accuratè etiam Clemens Alexandrinus, quinto Στρωμάτων in veteribus Græcis scriptoribus attentavit. Sed hi omnes perinde sunt, ut operarii & bajuli; qui, cùm comportent materiam, deesse certè in opere faciundo non possunt, mercedem tamen ipsi perexiguam, & laudem quidem non maximam promerentur.

Atqui docere perspicuè & perfectè, qua ratione Cicero vel Demosthenem, vel Platonem imitatur, singularis, fateor, doctrinæ, summi judicii, raræ laudis exstitit. Sed hæc laus adhuc præceptionis tota propria est. Aliud volo, plus requiro. Opifex nobis, & Architectus opus est, qui separata conjungere, rudia perpolire, & totum opus construere, artificiosa ratione noverit. Et illud, mea certè opinione, hoc modo: "Hinc Demosthenis locum, illinc "Ciceronis produci cupio. Tum, digito Artificis me primùm duci volo ad ea, quæ in "utroque sunt aut eadem, aut simillima. Deinde, quæ sunt in hoc addita, & quo consilio; "tum, quæ sunt ablata, & quo judicio. Postremò, quæ sunt commutata; & quo, ac quàm "vario artificio: sive id in verborum delectu, sive in sententiarum forma, sive in membro-"rum circumductione, sive in argumentorum ratione consistat. Nec uno, aut altero ex-"emplo contentus ero. Numero multa, genere varia, ex Platone, ex Isocrate, & Demost-"hene; & ex Aristotele in libris Rhetoricis exempla expeto."

Patior *Præceptorem* parcum esse in præceptorum traditione, modò liberalem se, & largum in exemplorum non solùm productione, quod laboris est & diligentiæ, verùm etiam tractatione, quod est doctrinæ et judicii, ostendat. Horum volumen, illorum paginam ipse requiro.

quiro. Nec mihi moleſtum erit, ſi eadem via & ratione, Cæſarem cum Xenophonte, Salluſtium cum Thucydide, Livium cum Polybio, Virgilium cum Homero, Horatium cum Pindaro, & Senecam etiam cum Sophocle, & Euripide conjungat. niſi forſan ſatius erit facere, quod hi prudenter faciunt, qui perfectè ſcribere volunt. Hærent enim hi, & defigunt ſe totos in uno, & eo perfectiſſimo, exemplo. Nec ſe, vel diſtrahi ad varia, vel deduci ad deteriora exempla libenter patiuntur. Tamen ſi carmen pangere vellem; nihil Virgilio divinius, nihil Horatio doctius mihi poſſum proponere. Sed ad dicendi facultatem, ipſum Ciceronem ſi non ſolùm, certè potiſſimum volo. Et dari mihi exemplum cupio Ciceronem Imitatorem, non Imitatorem Ciceronis.

Equidem amplector unicè Ciceronis imitationem: ſed eam dico & primam ordine, & præcipuam dignitate, quâ Cicero ipſe Græcos; non quâ Lactantius olim, Omphalius nuper, aut quâ multo felicius quidam Itali, Galli, Luſitani, & Angli Ciceronem ſunt ſecuti. Nam quiſquis fuerit non ſolùm diligens, ſed etiam cùm peritus doctrina, tum prudens judicio obſervator, quibus veſtigiis inſiſtit, & quos gradus facit ipſe Cicero, dum Græcos ſequitur, aſſequitur, aut præcurrit; & ſcienter animadvertit, quibus in locis, & qua ratione hic noſter ipſis Græcis plerumque par, ſæpiſſime ſuperior evadit; is demum tutò, & recta via ad imitandum ipſum Ciceronem perveniet. Qui enim intelligenter videt, quomodo Cicero ſecutus eſt alios, perſpiciet ille longè feliciſſimè, quomodo ipſe Cicero ſit ſequendus. Et propterea, non poſſum probare conſilium Bartholomæi Riccii Ferrarienſis, doctiſſimi licet viri. qui, cùm ſic ſcripſerit de recta imitandi ratione, ut, cùm à Sturmio diſceſſeris, cæteris omnibus, mea certe opinione, anteponendus ſit; (præcepta enim ejus omnia ſunt Sturmiana, & ex tuis fontibus hauſta, atque derivata) exempla tamen maluit Longolii ex Cicerone, quàm Ciceronis ex Platone ſibi proponere; & Virgilii ex Catullo, quàm Virgilii ex Homero producere. Hoc ille, bene quidem, ſed non optimè; ad aliquem fructum, non ad eximiam laudem; ad nonnullam mediocritatem, non ad ſummam perfectionem inſtituit.

Si verò optarem ipſe fieri alter Cicero, (& optare quidem nefas non eſt) ut fierem, & qua ratione fierem, quem potius ad conſilium mihi adhiberem, quàm ipſum Ciceronem? Et, ſi ipſe cuperem eò recta ire, quò Cicero ante felicſſimè pervenit, qua meliore via, quàm ipſis ipſius Ciceronis veſtigiis inſiſterem? Habuit ille quidem Romæ Gracchos, Craſſos, Antonios, rariſſima ad imitandum exempla; ſed exempla alia ipſe alias quærit. Proprietatem Romanæ linguæ ſimul cum lacte Romæ, puriſſima ætate, ex ipſo Latinitatis lætiſſimo flore hauſit. Ille tamen ſermonem illum Latinum ſuum divinum, ſuperioribus non cognitum, poſteris tam admirabilem, aliunde ſumpſit; & alio modo quàm Latino uſu, quàm Latina inſtitutione, & auxit, & aluit. Ille enim ſermo non in Italia natus eſt, ſed è Græcorum diſciplina in Italiam traductus. Nec ſatis habuit Cicero, ut lingua ejus proprietate domeſtica caſta eſſet, & ornata; niſi mens etiam Græcorum eruditione prudens efficeretur, & docta. Unde evenit, ut ſola Ciceronis oratio inter reliquos omnes Romanos, qui illi ætate aut ſuperiores, aut æquales, aut ſuppares fuere, non colore ſolùm vernaculo purè tincta, ſed raro & tranſmarino quodam plenè imbuta, tam admirabiliter reſplendeſceret.

Itaque, cum ipſa lingua Latina, feliciſſimo ſuo tempore, in ipſa Roma, in ipſo Cicerone, ad ſummam perfectionem ſine Græca lingua non pervenit; cur quiſquam in ſola Latina quærit, quod Cicero ipſe abſque Græca non invenit? Et, cùm nos ſumus nec feliciores ingenio, nec prudentiores judicio, quàm ipſe Cicero fuit; cur temere ſperamus aſſequi, quod ille non potuit? Cur imprudenter contendimus eam viam inire, qua ipſe inſiſtere noluit? præſertim cùm hunc ſolum, aut hunc potiſſimum, tanquam ſummum ducem, ſequendum eſſe ducimus. Et in re literaria, cùm Ciceronis imprimis probamus judicium, cur ejus repudiaremus conſilium? Cùm prudenter illum de hac re ſemper dixiſſe, cur illum in eadem re rectè feciſſe non ingenuè fateamur? Niſi forſan Cicero ipſe, judicio quidem prudens, aliis tamen & inutilis conſilio, & ineptus exemplo planè eſſe videatur.

Itaque quemadmodum perſpicuè cognoſcimus, quid Cicero de hac re prudenter ſæpe ſtatuit, conſtanter ſemper docuit: ita nos libenter ſequamur, quod ipſe in eadem re feliciſſimè fecit. Quas igitur Cicero linguas ſibi re ipſa utiliter, aliis exemplo prudenter conjunxit: abſit, ut nos vel ſeparemus illas, quod eſt rudis imperitiæ; vel repudiemus alteram, quod eſt ſuperbæ imprudentiæ.

imprudentiæ. Nam in hac florere ſine illa, cum ſumma aliqua laude, tam facile continget, quàm ſæpe uſu eveniet, ut avis una ala cum pernicitate volare, aut vir uno pede cum velocitate currere poſſit. Ex omni enim ſeculorum memoria, ſive ex lectione, ſive ex auditione, ſive ex notitia, commemorare habeo ſolum unum aut alterum, qui abſque Græcis literis, ad eximiam eloquentiæ laudem, in Latina lingua pervenerunt. Sed quemadmodum par eſt, ut hos homines admiremur, ita tutum non eſt, ut eoſdem imitemur. Eos ex animo ſuſpicio, et illis libenter gratulor hanc ſuam raram felicitatem. Sed aliis non ſum auctor, ut vel parem ſperent laudem, vel eandem ſequantur rationem. Si non alio, hoc certè nomine, quod Cicero hac via inſiſtere, aut prudenter ipſe noluit, aut fruſtra cum multis tentare non ſit auſus. " Sed ait quis, Rectè quidem Cicero; nam ante eum, nemo fuit præter Græcos, ad imita- " tionem proponendus. Sed nunc habemus ipſum Ciceronem, cum quidem, cum univerſa " Græcia, & cum ſingulo quoque Græcorum, in ea eloquentiæ laude qua maxime quiſque " floruit, comparandum. Cur igitur non Ciceronem ſolum mihi, variis illis Græcis relictis, " ad imitandum proponerem?"

Aliquid eſt, quod dicis. Ipſe enim Ciceronem præcipuè imitandum volo; ſed tuta via, ſed recta ratione, ſuo ordine, ſuo loco. Et rationem meam, cur hoc volo, & quomodo hoc volo, apertè oſtendam. Primùm, ſi optarem ipſe, alter fieri Cicero, quod ante dixi, qua ratione potius fierem, quàm ea ipſa, quâ ipſe Cicero factus eſt Cicero? Hanc viam, certam, cognitam, & expeditam eſſe, optimus teſtis eſt ipſe Cicero. Itaque cùm greſſus noſtri rectè & ſolidè firmati erunt, in hac ipſa via, qua præivit Cicero ad alios; ſic, ut omnes ejus & abditos receſſus, & varia diverticula, & difficiles anfractus, perfectè cognoſcamus; tum tutò quidem, & feliciter etiam, duce ipſa Minerva, noſtram ad Ciceronem viam muniemus. Et hoc quidem modo, ut ante dixi, ſi illuſtriora exempla, numero multa, genere varia, è Cicerone ſelecta, ubi ille optimos Græcos imitatur, per inſignem aliquem artificem non ſolùm, ut quidam faciunt, diligenter indicata, ſed, ut Sturmius docet, eruditè explicata fuerint.

Et hæc eſt illa via, mea certè opinione, quâ ad Ciceronis imitationem rectâ pergendum eſt. Non, quomodo Riccius oſtendit Longolium feciſſe, (hoc eſt, ut ipſe putat, excellenti ratione; ut ego exiſtimo, valde laudabiliter; ut multi ſentiunt, mediocriter, & tolerabiliter; ut * Eraſmus, & Paulus Manutius judicant, ineptè, frigidè, & pueriliter) ſed qua ratione Sturmius Ciceronem imitandum eſſe, & præceptis in *Literata Nobilitate* perfecte docet, & exemplis in *Quinctiana Explicatione* inſigniter oſtendit.

Et hoc in loco, opportunè mihi in mentem venit inſignis ille in Quinctiana locus; nimirum, † *Etenim ſi veritate amicitia, fide ſocietas*, &c. Quæ ſententia bis eſt à te, mi Sturmi, mirabili imitationis artificio expreſſa, primùm, in *Amiſſa dicendi Ratione:* poſteà, in ipſa *Explicatione Quinctiana*. In utroque loco eandem orationis formam, diverſis quidem in rebus, ſed varia tractatione elegantiſſimè effinxiſti. " *Præceptor meus* à me petit timidè quidem & " verecundè, rogem ut ipſe te, tua pace, ut illi liceat, in ſuo Commentariolo, hac duplici " tua unius loci Ciceronis inſigni imitatione, pro exemplo abuti. Et ſpondeo ipſe pro eo, " illum hoc cum honorifica de te, & amabili mentione facturum."

Sed quorſum tantopere, mi Sturmi, laboramus de imitatione? cùm non deſunt, qui docti & prudentes videri volunt, qui imitationem, vel nullam eſſe putant, vel nihil prorſus æſtimant, vel omnem temerè permiſcent, vel eam totam, quæcunque ſit, cujuſcunque ſit, ut ſervilem & puerilem repudiant. Sed hi ſunt & inertes, & imperiti, laborem fugiunt, artem neſciunt. Qui cùm naturæ omnia falſo judicio tribuunt; eandem tamen, optimis ſuis præſidiis iniquo conſilio ſpoliant; & res ſemper conjungendas, magna temeritate, extrema imprudentia diſtrahunt. Artis enim & naturæ diſſidium faciunt, quicunque caſu, non delectu, fortuitò non obſervatione, in literarum ſtudiis verſantur. Iſti idem ſentiunt de eleganti illa eloquentiæ parte, quæ in numerorum ratione collocata eſt. illam enim aut nullam eſſe volunt, aut inanem omnem judicant. Et aurium ſenſum cum artificioſo & intelligenti animi judicio,

* Vide Eraſmi *Ciceronianum*.

† Etenim ſi veritate amicitia, fide ſocietas, pietate propinquitas colitur; neceſſe eſt, qui amicum, ſocium, affinem, fama ac fortunis ſpoliare conatus eſt, vanum ſe, et perfidioſum, et impium eſſe fateatur. *Orat. pro P. Quintio, ſect.* 6.

nihil commercii habere exiſtimant. Quem tamen doctrinæ locum, (id quod iſti aut imperitè neſciunt, aut ſuperbè contemnunt) principes illi in omni doctrina viri, Ariſtoteles, Demetrius, Halicarnaſſeus, Hermogenes, Cicero, Quinctilianus, Sturmius tanto ſtudio perpoliverunt, ut in nullâ aliâ re accuratius elaboraſſe videantur.

Sed illos in ſua, ſive imperita deſidia, ſive ſuperba imprudentia, relinquamus: et hos alteros nos amemus, atque ſequamur. Qui cùm fuerint optima natura ornati, eſſe item voluere ſic doctrina exculti, ut ipſi non magis naturæ beneficio adjuti, quàm artis præſidio muniti; nec magis ingenio felices, quàm judicio prudentes, ſemper habiti ſint.

Et hæc mihi de imitandi ratione cogitanti gravis ſæpe ſubit dolor, ob amiſſos illos libros Dionyſii Halicarnaſſei, quos doctiſſimè & fuſiſſimè ſcripſit de Imitatione & Oratoria, & Hiſtorica. Quos libros ipſe Dionyſius in eo Commentario, quo ſuum judicium de univerſa hiſtoria Thucydidis, quid in ea vel tutò imitandum, vel cautè declinandum ſit, eruditè, prudenter, & plenè explicat, cæteris ſuis libris omnibus anteponit. Sed interim omnes docti plurimum debent cùm Andreæ Dudithio Pannonio, tum tuo Paulo Manutio, quòd nuper hunc eruditum Commentarium, alter Latinè doctiſſimè vertit, (Græca enim non vidi) alter typis elegantiſſimè excudit. Nam in eo libro ſic omnes Thucydidis virtutes & vitia, & diligenter collegit, & liberè expoſuit; ut quicquid in eo, ſive in verborum delectu, ſive in ſententiarum forma & conſtructione, ſive in rerum judicio & tractatione, vel prædicabile ad ejus laudem, vel vituperabile ad ſimilium devitationem ſcriptum eſt; id omne & planè & plenè ab Halicarnaſſeo demonſtretur. Tanta enim ejus eſt in ſingula congerendo diligentia, in conſiderando doctrina, in ponderando judicium; ut ſi ipſe jam reviviſceret Thucydides, credo equidem, non ſe ipſe melius noſcere, non de ſe aut rectius, aut æquius ſtatuere potuerit. De imitatione Hiſtorica doctius, aut accuratius quicquam, credo nondum exſtitit.

Et quoties ego hunc Iego Commentarium, (quod ſæpe quidem & libenter facio) toties in hanc ſententiam adducor, ut planè ipſe exiſtimem, neminem, nec Græcum, nec Latinum majori facultate ad ſcribendam hiſtoriam unquam veniſſe, quàm Dionyſium Halicarnaſſeum: præſertim, ſi ad tantam diligentiæ, & judicii præſtantiam acceſſit etiam, Auguſti beneficio, totus & tantus ille Theſaurus Bibliothecæ M. Varronis. Si forſan hunc librum, mi Sturmi, Halicarnaſſei de hiſtoria Thucydidis, aliis rebus occupatus nondum legeris, rogo ut meo rogatu legas. Et ſcribas quæſo, an ſenſus tuus cum mea opinione de hoc libro conſentiat, necne. Fatetur etiam ipſe in eodem libro, ſe pari ratione de Imitatione Demoſthenica, & alterum librum de civili Philoſophia ſcripſiſſe. Utinam illi exſtarent libri; mente enim quaſi jam præcipio, tales libros à tanto viro ſcriptos, omnibus eruditionis & prudentiæ præceptis, quantum ad civilem cognitionem attinet, plenè abundaviſſe.

Hæ cogitationes de Imitatione, & illa mentio ante facta à me de Chriſtophoro Longolio, qui voluit ipſe eſſe, & aliis etiam viſus eſt, inſignis Ciceronis imitator, nonnihil me movent, ut quid ipſe de ejus facultate, & aliorum de eo opinione ſentiam, tibi aperiam. Qui bene de Longolio ſentiunt, habent me non repugnantem: quanquam habeo & foris & domi, quos illi anteponam. Budæus amicum immerentem ingrata invidia, in quadam ad Eraſmum epiſtolâ, nimis acerbè premit. Eraſmus apertius inſectatur; & illum ineptè, furaciter, ſervili & puerili more, nihil præter centones ex Cicerone conſuere arguit. id quod ipſe credo Eraſmum aliquo potius ſcripſiſſe ſtomacho, quàm certo ſuo ſtatuiſſe judicio. nam ſcio, ubi Longolio jam mortuo, non ſingularem aliquam, ſed ſummam eloquentiæ laudem tribuit. Miror ipſe magis quidem, * quid tuo Paulo Manutio in mentem venerit, homini, ut audio, natura humaniſſimo, &, ut video, doctrina excultiſſimo; ut is Longolium, vivus mortuum, bonus non malum, eruditus non indoctum, Italus Italorum delicias, in literis ſuis ad Stephanum Saulium, etiam in lucem editis, tam acri ſtilo pungeret.

Quo conſilio hoc fecit, neſcio: parum humaniter quidem, ſcio, & an vero judicio, planè dubito. Dicit enim Longolium eſſe exilem in ſententiis, non luculentum in verbis, inopem à Latina lingua, eſſe prorſus nullum. In eo & judicium requirit, & ſtultitiam notat. Quanto tu, mi Sturmi, moderatius, humanius, atque prudentius olim ad Ducem Juliacenſium?

* Vide Pauli Manutii Epiſtolam ad Steph. Saulium Epiſt. lib. 1. ep. 4.

Ubi,

Ubi, cùm de Eraſmo & Longolio, & eorum tota controverſia graviſſimum judicium dederis, laudem neutri adimis; ſed ſuam utrique ingenuè tribuiſti. Atque in eodem loco, ubi Manutius Longolium eouſque dejicere tantopere laborat, non nihil ipſe, mea opinione, labitur. Nam cùm eximiam illam ſuam, & ei, ut ipſe ſcribit, cum paucis communem, augendæ linguæ Latinæ rationem, ſingulari præconio efferat; nimirum, quod exquiſitas ſententias de Cicerone excerptas, aliis verbis, quàm poterat lectiſſimis, ornare conſueverat; an non planè oſtendit, ſe malle cum Cn. Carbone in errores abduci, quàm cum L. Craſſo recta via inſiſtere; et opinionem Quinctiliani, judicio Ciceronis anteponere? Craſſus enim & Cicero, non ſolùm majori auctoritate pugnant, ſed meliori ratione vincunt, inutilem eſſe laborem, malo conſilio aucupari deteriora, cùm recto judicio optima ſunt præcepta; & temere captare vulgaria, cùm ſelectiſſima ſcienter ſunt occupata.

Gaudeo *Præceptorem meum* loqui Anglicè; ne, cùm tam liberè diſſentit hac in re à Manutio, tantum hominem offenderet; tamen Manutium non nominat. Nam cùm diſſentit ab aliquo, hoc tacite; cùm laudat quenquam, illud apertè facit. Quanquam ſi ipſe Manutius has literas legeret, non eſt cur offenderetur. Nemo enim melius, quàm ille novit, Muſas ipſas eſſe non ſolùm candidas, ſed etiam prudentes: quæ inter literarum cultores aliquam nonnunquam opinionum diſſenſionem, & ferunt patienter, & ſerunt ipſe aliquando non inutiliter: omnem verò animorum diſtractionem & fieri ſemper vetant, & eſſe diu non patiuntur. Itaque Paulum tuum Manutium, meum quoque eſſe volo: nec ſinam, ut eum tu plus diligas, quam ipſe amem. Et quanquam tu loci opportunitate illi propior es, benevolentiæ tamen ſtudio, & officii etiam repræſentatione, cùm uſus ferret, ut ſis conjunctior, profectò non permittam.

Idem cogito de aliis in Italia clariſſimis viris, de Petro Victorio, de Jovit a Rapicio, qui eruditè & eleganter de Numero Oratorio ſcripſit: de Carolo Sigonio, de Joanne Baptiſta Pigna Ferrarienſi, de Petro Bargæo Piſano. Nam quantum Carolo Sigonio omnes docti debent, pro utraque utriuſque urbis republica, tanta diligentia, tanta doctrina, tanto orationis lumine explicata; & imperitus, qui non clarè videt, & invidus, qui non ingenuè fatetur, habendus eſt. Rara vero illa doctrina, & grave etiam illud judicium, quo Baptiſta Pigna aureolum Horatii librum de Arte Poetica fuſiſſimè explicuit, magno me commovit deſiderio videndi etiam ea, quæ in tres libros Rhetoricos Ariſtotelis pari ratione conſcripſit. in quibus, ut ille ipſe ſcribit, ad artis oratoriæ, ab intelligendi principe optimè traditæ, perfectiſſima præcepta, ex Græcorum & Latinorum dicendi principum orationibus, ex Ethicis item, Politicis, & Hiſtoricis, omnis generis exempla adjunxit. Et quale opus hoc ſit, quanquam oculis nondum vidi, animo tamen quàm præclarum illud ſit, cum magna voluptate jam præcepi.

Scripſit idem Baptiſta Pigna, ut ipſe teſtatur, alterum librum, *Quæſtiones Sophocleas:* ubi de tota doctrina Tragica, de Senecæ vitiis, de Græcorum Tragicorum virtutibus fusè tractavit. Nec minori hujus libri videndi deſiderio teneor, mi Sturmi: quoniam Sophocles & Euripides, mea certè opinione, cum Platone & Xenophonte in omni civilis cognitionis explicatione, conferri poſſunt: præſertim quod attinet ad eorum mores, conſilia, inſtituta, & eventa, qui in ſplendore Aulico vitam ſuam traducunt.

Petrus Angelus Bargæus Piſanus, carmine divino Κυνηγετικὰ complexus eſt; nec minus excellit dicendi facultate. Is Scripſit, ut ex ejus ſcripto, & Manutii teſtimonio intelligo, doctiſſimos etiam Commentarios in eruditum illum Demetrii libellum de Elocutione. An hic liber, & illi, quos commemoravi Joannis Baptiſtæ Pignæ, in lucem prodiere, aut ſint prodituri, admodum aveo ſcire. Si homo es, mi Sturmi, hoc meo rogatu, per literas tuas cognoſce primo quoque tempore, à Paulo Manutio, qui omnium optimè illud intelligit. Et quid ille reſpondet, ad me quamprimum perſcribas: nihil enim mihi gratius facturus es. Et Manibus Longolii æternam felicitatem exopto, qui mihi hoc à te poſtulandi occaſionem dedit. "Et "tibi, mi Sturmi, gratias ingentes ago, quòd de Imitatione Oratoria ſcribis; quòd mihi "mittere polliceris, quæ dictata ſunt." Mitte igitur, & quamprimum mitte: ut *Præceptor meus*, qui nunc eſt ferè nudus, & planè deformis, iſtinc aliquem elegantiorem mutuans amictum, nonnihil cultius veſtitus, & inde ſuperbior factus, in lucem audacius prodeat.

Interim verò cupio à te ſcire, an Imitatio hoc loco tam latè patere debeat, ut eam etiam exercitationem complectatur, quam nos *Metaphraſin* nominamus. Quæ Μίμησις tamen à

Platone in tertio de *Republica* dicitur : ubi ipſe Socrates orationem Chryſæ ſacerdotis ex ἀ Ἰλιάδος, libero ſermone elegantiſſimè diſſolvit. Et cur non appelletur Imitatio, non video ; cùm videam in eo loco & quædam prudenter ablata, & multa ingeniosè commutata. Idem ſentio de pari conſilio Lucretii Latiniſſimi poetæ ; qui, diverſa ratione inſignem illam Thucydidis explicationem Peſtis, erudito & eleganti carmine illigavit.

At quid facis, mi Aſchame, inquis ; quòd tu non literas, ſed libellum hoc tempore ad me? Quod facio, facio libenter, & cùm voluptate, mi Sturmi ; præſertim in hac dulci & domeſtica mea, ab omni Aulico negotio otioſa hoc tempore, & libera ceſſatione ; dum Princeps mea nunc longius ab Urbe, non in Muſarum ſacrario Palladi, (quod reliquo toto anno facit) ſed inter ſilvas Dianæ, de more hoc tempore ſerviat.

Et hæc prolixitas mea, mihi quidem non eſt moleſta, & tibi item ſpero, non admodum erit ingrata. Cum enim mihi nullum in ſcribendo tædium attulerit, ne tibi magnum in legendo faſtidium ſit paritura, non valdè pertimeſco. Et ſi nihil aliud, hoc certè efficiam ; ut tu certò intelligas, hoc longo ſilentio meo, meum erga te amorem minimè eſſe diminutum. Intelliges præterea, quod adhuc etiam de literarum ſtudiis noſtrarum in me reſideat eadem cogitatio, licet non par facultas, quæ tum fuit, cùm ego primum, D. Buceri hortatu, literas illas prolixas ad te dederim : quas tu peramice quidem, amoris noſtri mutui publicas teſtes eſſe voluiſti.

Nunc verò fructus ille otii noſtri Academici, qui tibi aliquis tum viſus eſt, ita jam omnis in hoc negotio Aulico quotidie langueſcit, & eo indies, tanquam vinum fugiens, paulatim decidit ; ut planè verear, tuo ne judicio prorſus exaruiſſe videatur. Itaque peropportuna eſt mihi dulcis illa & perambilis tua mecum expoſtulatio ; cùm me vocas, feſtivè tu quidem, ſed nimis verè, hominem deſidioſum : & cùm amanter poſtulas, ut nos ipſi noſtram multorum annorum intermiſſam ſcriptionem revocemus, & nos inter nos mutuis crebrò literis ſalutemus, atque conſolemur.

De mea vero diutina taciturnitate, nihil dico ; nec veniam valdè peto, nec excuſationem admodum quæro : quam licet juſtam & probabilem adferre poſſim, uti tamen illa nolo ; ne ipſa eſſet mihi quidem moleſta, & tibi non lætabilis. Verum ne tu in hoc meo deſidioſo ſilentio nimiùm triumphes ; quanquam ipſe in hoc ſcribendi officio commendationem tibi magnam libenter tribuo, mihi verò nullam ſumo ; tamen ſic tecum jure poſſum contendere. Tu literarum multarum numero, ego unius magnitudine : tu variis ſchedulis, ego hoc volumine : tu ſententiarum pondere, ego verborum cumulo : tu erudita brevitate, ego loquacitate rudi : tu amoris crebra declaratione, ego benivolentiæ perpetuo ſtudio : ſic uterque nitimur, ut tu me, an ego te, in hac contentione ſuperem, non multum quidem laborem.

Nicolai Udalli carmen hendecaſyllabum ad libellum ſuum.

SI certum eſt tibi, pertinax libelle,
In multas hominum manus venire,
Doctorumque libet ſubire naſum,
Sannas, verbera, jurgium, cachinnos;
Per me ſit tibi liberum vagari.
I, quocunque voles, tuo periclo.
Securus poteras domi latere,
Et mecum poteras manere tutus.
Nunc es publicus, haud meus libellus;
Nec poſſum tibi jam patrocinari,
Nec Suffragia, gratiamque vulgi,
Aut vitam geniumque polliceri.
Orbis ſed tibi, multitudiniſque
Standum judicio, vel eſt cadendum.

Epiſto-

Epiſtola nuncupatoria.

Nicolaus Udallus ſuaviſſimo diſcipulorum ſuorum gregi ſalutem plurimam dicit.

QUanquam initio quidem, ut ingenuè fatear, non meâ voluntate ad hanc docendi provinciam capeſſendam inductus, ſed partim aſſiduis eiſdemque importuniſſimis amicorum quorundam ſolicitationibus efflagitationibuſque compulſus, partim neſcio quo meo fato protruſus videri poteram; nunc tamen, poſtquam egregia quorundam veſtrum indoles luculentam ſanè miniméque dubitatam ſpem oſtendit, fore aliquando, ut ad inſignem aliquam eruditionem evadatis, tantum abeſt, ut me inſtituti cœptique pœniteat, ut nihil profectò hodie prius habeam, aut antiquius. Quapropter, *quam ſorte nactus ſum Spartam, ornare* (prout Græcorum proverbium admonet) mihi propoſui, planéque conſtitutum habeo, ſuperis bene juvantibus, in hanc gnaviter curam incumbere, inſigniterque in eo elaborare, ut vos ex immaniſſimis barbarici faucibus quamprimum eripiam, atque ex tenebroſa abſtruſaque inſcitiæ caligine vindicem, ad politioris literaturæ puritatem, lucem, claritudinem.

Nec dici me herculé poteſt, quanto deſiderio flagrem, quantáque quum omnium, qui literis ſunt dediti, tum veſtris, duntaxat honeſtis et rectis, ſtudiis proficiendi, cupiditate ardeam. Jam inde enim ab eo tempore, quo in meam vos Scholam et diſciplinam recepi, parentis erga vos animum induiſſe me fateor; ſemperque exiſtimâſſe in eorundem me locum ſuccedere, à quibus traditi mihi ad inſtituendum eſtis. Quod cum ita ſit, ut eſt, quàm mihi rem gratam et jucundam, quàm porro lætabilem et glorioſam putatis fore; ſi vos aliquando ad eas in diſciplina vires accreſcere, et pervenire videro, ut exuperatis evictiſque iſtis grammaticarum præceptionum, et rudimentorum difficultatibus, ac velut ſalebris, ad jucundiſſimam, eandemque multò uberrimi fructus Latinorum authorum lectionem ſtudium transferre valeatis.

Ad hanc autem maturitatem cùm animadverterem non aliâ demum ratione perveniri poſſe, niſi ſi quis in promptu jam ante, et ad manum habeat bonam atque adeo divitem Latini ſermonis ſuppellectilem; ſedulò equidem mihi faciendum putavi, ne vobis deeſſet, unde ea potiſſimè facultas parari poſſit, et Latini ſermonis copia, puritas, nitor, elegantia nullo, aut certe quàm minimo negotio perdiſci.

Scripſi itaque vobis, ſuaviſſimi tyrunculi, quaſdam Latinè loquendi formulas, ad quotidiani ſermonis uſum et copiam ſanè quam accommodatiſſimas. Eas vero ex *Publii Terentii* potiſſimùm comœdiis delegimus; quod is ſcriptor ad informandam inſtruendamque linguam puerilem maximè omnium idoneus, citraque controverſiam facilè princeps videatur; utpote per quem, ipſum Ciceronem, ſummum alioqui Latinitatis magiſtrum, ad tantum eloquentiæ faſtigium profeciſſe conſtet: id quod quum ipſemet de ſe fatetur alicubi, imò potius gloriatur, tum ſcripta ejus ubique tantum non clamant. Porro Latina ipſe Anglicè interpretatus ſum, quò vos quoque Latina vernaculè, aut è contrario Latinè vernacula abſque moleſtia vel negotio, et cum aliqua ratione ac gratia, nec interim ineptis prorſus atque abſurdis, quod plerique faciunt, ſed appoſitis et accommodata verbis reddere addiſcatis.

Neque verò putetis velim, nullum eſſe operæ pretium, ſi quis Latina aptè in maternum vertere ſermonem calleat. Nam ſi Cicero quædam ex Græcis tam poetis, quàm oratoribus, ac philoſophis Latinè interpretando, quæ in ſuos referret libros, operæ pretium exiſtimare ſe feciſſe non nuſquam gloriatur; ſi Terentius plus ſibi laudis ſtatuit, majoremque gloriam poſuit in vertendis Græcorum antiquis fabulis, quàm inveniendis ſuis novis; ſi idem Terentius rem nihilo minus ingenioſam arbitratus eſt, ex bonis Græcis bona Latina facere, quàm ſi ipſe de ſuo nova excogitaſſet, quæ ſcriberet, et poſteris legenda traderet; ſi denique ingenii argumentum, et non poſtremæ laudis opus exiſtimatur, bona vernacula ſic verbis Latinis mutare, ut

interim

interim ſervetur utriuſque linguæ idiotiſmus et gratia ; quî minus id quoque è diverſo maximæ laudi dari par ſit, et vel ſummi artificis opus haberi conveniat, ex bonis Latinis ſcilicet reddere bona vernacula ?

Verum ut redeam, quò cœpi tendere, nec juſto diutius in his hæream, imò conſilii vobis factique mei rationem compendio expediam ; addidi, ſicubi opus id eſſe videbatur, quædam velut Scholia, quibus tum ſenſus poetæ explicetur, tum verba ipſa non paulo declarentur apertius. Si qua inſignis aut elegans incidit Metaphora, indicavi : ſi qua figura occurrit, admonui : ſi qua fabula intervenit, non ſum gravatus altiuſculè repetitam narrare : ſi quid, quod ad Latinitatem egregiè faceret, ſeſe obtulit, non commiſi, ut præteriretur ſilentio : ſi quid ad rationem grammaticam pertinere viſum eſt, non piguit enucleare : ſi quid proverbii interſperſum eſt, expoſui : ſi quod vocabulum obſcurius judicatum eſt, illuſtravi : ſi qua formula à communi vulgarique et uſitata Latiné loquendi ratione paulo alienior apparuit, rationem reddidi, citatis, ubi res poſceret, atque adhibitis, ex optimis quibuſque et probatiſſimis authoribus, exemplis ac teſtimoniis. Denique, ut finem tandem faciam, quicquid uſquam objectum eſt, quod puerile ingenium judiciumve retardare in legendo poſſe videretur, quantumvis id humile foret aut leve, ſedulò adnotavi ; veſtris ſcilicet ſtudiis quàm optime conſultum cupiens, omnibuſque omnium veſtrum commodis nuſquam non libentiſſimè deſerviens.

Proinde hæc quidem, quæ commemoravi omnia, pingui, quod dicitur, craſſaque ac rudi Minerva tradidi, et vereor, ne quorundam opinione, judicio ſententiáque, nimis etiamnum anxiè, nimis ſcrupuloſè, nimis denique, ut ita loquar, fruſtulatim perſecutus ſim, utique dum ſingula ad judicii veſtri immaturitatem, et captûs teneritudinem attempero. Sed nimis quàm mihi, in hoc duntaxat negotio, placuit illud, quod dici ſolet, *indoctius modò apertius* ; præſertim cùm ſcirem quàm maximè opus eſſet, nil, niſi velut præmanſum, vobis in os inſeri.

Porro ipſum opuſculum *Flores Terentii* libuit inſcribere, quoniam hæ formulæ, quas vobis jam nuncupamus, ex ejus poetæ lepidiſſimis juxta atque elegantiſſimis comœdiis, quaſi horto quodam fragrantiſſimo, et ad miraculum vario, amœnoque topiario, ordine omnes ſelectæ ſunt et excerptæ. His igitur laborum noſtrorum quaſi primitiis fruimini, tanquam arrhabone ac pignore tum noſtri erga vos ſummi amoris, tum officii ac fidei.

Quod ſi prodeſſe hæc, conduceréque veſtris ſtudiis intellexerimus, alia, favente Chriſto, dabimus propediem altiora atque majora. Veſtræ autem partes erunt, ſuaviſſimi tyrones, omni, quod aiunt, pede ſtare, omnibus ingenii nervis contendere, ac modis omnibus curare, ne noſtros ſudores laboreſque fruſtremini, neve noſtrum hoc tantum oleum et operam eludatis, ſed potius ut conceptæ de vobis tum ſpei, tum expectationi, poſſitis per omnia reſpondere. Valete.

Londini ex cœnobio Monachorum ordinis Divi Auguſtini pridie calendas Martias, anno poſt natum Chriſtum 1534.

C. GUAL-

D. GUALTERI HADDONI

ORATIO

ad pueros Ætonenſes.

MAgnam locus admonitionis vim habet, ſuaviſſimi pueri: Nam hæc ipſa cernens, quondam mea, nunc veſtra ſtudiorum incunabula, communium memini veſtrarum literarum, et vos amo tenentes illum vitæ curſum, in quo vos ipſe ſum antegreſſus. Quales enim vos nunc eſtis, tales nos olim pueri fuimus; et quales nos jam eſſe cernitis, tales vos dies viros efficiet. Quapropter ſi nonnullis in perſonis, magna vobis occurrunt et memorabilia Scientiarum et morum ornamenta, primùm cognoſcite, principiis illos eiſdem eſſe profectos, quibus veſtræ jam ætates fundatæ ſunt; deinde colloborate, ſimilis ut progreſſus veſter, et par ad extremum exitus eſſe poſſit. Etenim hoc valdè ſanè verſimiliter affirmare licet, quod illa, quæ ſunt in aliis maxima, nunquam in vobis erunt magna, niſi teneris in his annis veſtris cœperint eſſe aliqua.

Cur autem ad principatum quendam laudis ab hac florentiſſima Schola contendendum ſit, paucula proponam nota familiariter. Jucundior enim domeſticarum rerum ſermo vobis erit, et facilius in memoriis veſtris inſidebit. Primum autem et ſummum eſt, quòd diſciplinam habetis perfectiſſimam, et deſcriptiſſimam, per omnes literarum et morum veſtrorum partes permeantem. Etenim ſive libris occupamini, ſive jucunditati vos datis, ſive foras progredimini, ſive domi vos tenetis, ſive precamini, ſive veſcimini, ſive quid aliud agitis, vitæ cuſtodes omnibus in locis diſpoſitos habetis. Omninò vos commovere non poteſtis, quin ſtatim in aliquam cenſuræ particulam veſtigium ponatis. Omnes loci pleni vobis officiorum veſtrorum occurrunt; omnia tempora, imò verò ſingula temporum momenta, cartam habent vel fructuoſi ſtudii rationem, vel honeſtæ voluptatis oblectationem.

Magna laus et planè ſumma majorum veſtrorum, qui veſtræ juventutis exercitationes tam ſapienter diſpertiverunt. Vos elaborare debetis, ne fruſtra tam egregia diſciplinarum et virtutum adjumenta proviſa ſint. Quam ad rem creſcet in animis veſtris ardor et alacritas, ſi diligenter & attentè recordemini, qui, et unde ſitis, quâ ſpe et expectatione hìc collocati, quem ad finem reſervati. Nimirum Regales ii cœtus veſtri ſunt, Regale ſemen eſtis, Regalis familia; quapropter grandes et uberes fructus ferre debetis. Regalibus ſtipendiis omnes militatis: itaque ſingularis et excellens in vobis diſcendi ſit aſſiduitas, ut quantum fuit in munificentia principum admirabilitatis et præſtantiæ, tantum in literis veſtris eſſe poſſit laudis & induſtriæ.

Nec fruſtra vobis labores erunt ſuſcepti. Quot etenim reſpublica dignitatum gradus habet, tot vobis præmia ſtudiorum veſtrorum præparata ſunt. Et ſi vobis magnum videtur, aurum & purpuram intueri, ſervorum greges, inſtratos equos, poſſeſſiones etiam & fundos, & cætera vitæ partim adjumenta, partim ornamenta; ſcitote veſtris ſcientiis & virtutibus iſta, quotcunque ſunt, & quantacunque ſunt, deberi ſane omnia. Certè quidem in ipſis iſtis puerilibus ſubſelliis, Decanos, Collegiorum Præfectos, Jureconſultos, Medicos, Judices, Epiſcopos etiam & Senatores video. Nunc laborare vos aliquamdiu non pœniteat, paulo poſt beneficiis & emolumentis, honoribus & ornamentis non ſolum explebimini, ſed etiam accumulabimini.

Si dubitatis, hæc ipſa contemplamini præſentia tempora, quæ majorem veſtris ſtudiis honorem exhibuerunt, quàm unquam optare auſi eſtis. Primùm excellentiſſima Regina (quâ nunquam ſol quicquam in terris vidit ſpecioſius, aut omni genere decorum et ornamentorum illuminatius) cùm vix adhuc in palatio ſuo conſtitiſſet, poetam ad ſe veſtrum admiſit, poema

ſuſcepit, & honorario luculento ſtudia veſtra cohoneſtavit. Deinde Senatûs & nobilitatis flos, hæc literarum veſtrarum curricula benigniſſimè viſitavit, & indoles veſtras, quantum tempus ferebat, deguſtavit: ad extremum præmiis vos & laudibus beneficentiſſimè dimiſit. Si capita vos, & lumina reipublicæ, tantum in hac ætatula, propter ſpem literarum nonnullam, diligunt; quantum literas ipſas in vobis enatas & efflorescentes amabunt, cùm viri eritis, & ſinguli ſingulis in reipublicæ partibus collocabimini?

Sed fortaſſe tempus hoc longe vobis abeſſe videtur. Non profectò; ſed adeſt, aut propè eſt: volat enim ætas. Interim diſciplinis veſtris tot reperietis fautores, & virtutibus, quot in Anglia docti reperiuntur & boni. Separatim autem & præcipuè vos curabit indulgentiſſimus veſter præfectus, qui vos amat non ſecus quàm pater filios, qui veſtras commoditates putat ſuas; qui ne vivere quidem deinceps ipſe velit, niſi vos ut eruditiſſimos videat & optimos. Adſtat autem ante oculos Præceptor ſanè laudabilis, qui veſtras pueritias informat, ipſe juvenis, in quo magnum vobis ſolatium propoſitum eſt. Etenim ipſe, cum adoleveritis, ad aliorum gubernationem adhibebimini. Poſtremò me videtis, familiarem veſtrum, & alumnum hujus Scholæ. Quanquam autem me mei valde pœnitet, nec quicquam in me poſitum eſſe ſciam, quo magnopere poſſitis uti; tamen totum hoc, neſcio quid nihili, quod in me eſt, commoditatibus veſtris et opportunitatibus do dedicóque. Nec enim quicquam in vita mihi poteſt optabilius accidere, quàm ut hæc nobiliſſima literarum ſedes plurimos ſubminiſtret egregios, & principi ſervos, & reipublicæ cives.

Atque hæc ſunt illa paucula, quæ in hoc tempore volui attingere: cum ætas ſe veſtra corroboraverit, & ematuruerint animi, plura vobis, ſi opus erit, & graviora proferam. Interim vivite, valete & creſcite, ut Deo gloriæ, reipublicæ honori, & vobiſmet ipſis emolumento eſſe poſſitis.

An Extract out of Mr. Richard Mulcaſter's *Book of Education, printed in the year* 1581.

" FOR the credit of theſe mathematical ſciences, I muſt needs uſe one authority of great " and well-deſerved countenance among us; and ſo much the rather, becauſe his judg- " ment is ſo often and ſo plauſibly vouched by the courteous Maſter *Aſcham* in his book, " which I wiſh he had not himſelf, neither any for him, intitled the *Scholemaſter*; becauſe " myſelf dealing in that argument, muſt needs ſometimes diſſent too far from him, with " ſome hazard of mine own credit, ſeeing his is hallowed.

" The worthy and well-learned gentleman, Sir *John Cheke*, in the midſt of all his great " learning, his rare eloquence, his ſound judgment, his grave modeſty, feared the blame of a " mathematical head ſo little in himſelf, and thought the profeſſion to be ſo far from any ſuch " taint, being ſoundly and ſadly ſtudied by others, as he bewraied his great affection to- " wards them moſt evidently in this his doing. Being himſelf provoſt of the King's college " in *Cambridge*, in the time of his moſt honoured prince, and his beſt-hoped pupil, the good " King *Edward*, brother to our gracious ſovereign Queen *Elizabeth*, he ſent down from the " court one Maſter *Buckley*, ſometime fellow of the ſaid college, and very well ſtudied in " the mathematicals, to read arithmetick and geometry to the youth of the college; and for " the better encouraging of them to that ſtudy, gave them a number of *Euclides* of his own coſt.

" Maſter *Buckley* had drawn the rules of arithmetick into verſes, and gave the copies abroad " to his hearers. Myſelf am to honour the memory of that learned knight, being partaker " myſelf of his liberal diſtribution of thoſe *Euclides*, with whom he joined *Xenophon*; which " book he wiſhed and cauſed to be read in the ſame houſe, and gave them to the ſtudents, " to encourage them as well to the *Greek* tongue, as he did to the mathematicks. He did, " I take it, as much for the ſtudents in St. *John*'s college, whoſe pupil he had once been, " as he did for us of the *King*'s college, whoſe provoſt he then was.

D. HENRICI SAVILII,

Equitis aurati, & Coll. Mertonenſis Cuſtodis digniſſimi,

ORATIO,

CORAM

REGINA ELIZABETHA

Oxonii habita, anno 1592, Septemb. 23.

D. HENRICI SAVILII

ORATIO.

THESES.

I. *Rei Militaris, & Philoſophiæ ſtudia poſſe in Republica unà vigere.*

II. *Aſtrologiam judiciariam è civitate benè morata eſſe exterminandam.*

CORpus humanum, Sereniſſima Princeps, niſi vis aut morbus impulerit, tribus quaſi gradibus tendit ad mortem; adoleſcentiæ, maturitatis & ſenectæ: Sic reſpublica, non bellis externis oppreſſa, non civilibus ante tempus lacerata, naturali cetè decurſu habet incrementum, ſtatum, & declinationem. Nam & *omnia orta occidunt*, & maturata defluunt, & tempore corroborata, tempore labefactantur. Jam artes aliæ ſunt neceſſitatis, aliæ liberalis otii, aliæ eruditi luxûs. Neceſſitatis. ut ad depellendam famem agricultura, pecuaria; ad arcendum frigus, architectura, veſtiaria; ad vim propulſandam, ars militaris: Otii liberalis, ut gymnaſtica, muſica, & hæc ipſa mater artium Philoſophia: Luxûs, ut pictura, ſtatuaria, culinariæ, fucatoriæ artes, aliæque, in quas magno corporum, majore animorum damno, ſumus ingenioſi. Sall. initio belli Jugurth.

Nec in omnibus reipublicæ temporibus vigent iſtæ omnes, nec tamen ullum eſt tempus, in quo non aliqua. Sic enim naturâ comparatum eſt, ut neceſſitatis inventa tempore prima ſint, otii media, extrema luxuriæ: ſintque illa naſcentis ferè, creſcentiſque reipublicæ, vigentis altera, tertia ruentis. In conſtituentibus rempublicam, in bella gerentibus pro capite & ſalute, naſci literarum ſtudia non ſolent, non poſſunt. Otium eſt pacemque nactæ, vel pro gloriâ tantum dimicantis, civitatis alumna Philoſophia. Contrà, rei militaris ſcientia iis reipublicæ temporibus non utilis modo, ſed perneceſſaria. Ut enim generare, naturæ nobilius, eoque difficilius eſt opus, quàm augere, quàm conſervare: ſic majoris animi, ingenii, artis, virtutis, imperium fundare, quàm tueri; * cùm novam, *in medio creſcentem molem* oderint etiam longinque nationes, ſibi ac poſteris ſuis metuant vicinæ.

Secundum eſt tempus reipublicæ jam conſtitutæ vigentiſque, in quo emicant illa, quæ dixi, omnia oblectationis, & otii liberalis, florente etiamnum rei militaris ſcientia. Quòd ſi idem ardor animorum maneret, idem armorum ſtudium, labor, induſtria, vigilantia; nempe id, in quo Deos omnes fruſtra votis fatigamus, jamdiu manibus teneremus, immortalem civitatem. † *Facilè enim imperium iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt.* Sed nimirum cùm nemo jam hoſtis, niſi quem nos facimus, nulla gens inimica, niſi propter noſtras injurias; ceſſante neceſſitate, armorum, quæ neceſſitatis cauſa primùm ſumpta ſunt, aciem patimur hebeſcere. Labente dein paulatim diſciplina, cùm ex ſuperiorum temporum virtute nihil reſtet, præter opes virtute congeſtas, & inſtrumenta luxuriæ; ſpreta jacet res militaris, afflicta di-

* Nuſquam benignè legatio audita eſt: adeo ſimul ſpernebant, ſimul tantam in medio creſcentem molem ſibi ac poſteris ſuis metuebant. *Livius lib.* 1.

† Nam imperium facilè iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt. *Salluſtius Bell. Catil.*

vinæ particula mentis, virtutis imperatoria : eodemque labefactata motu, concidunt literarum ſtudia, ſeu præſidio militari deſtituta, ſeu commercii vitiorum voluptatumque pertæſa : ut nemini dubium eſſe queat, ea ſtudia poſſe unà vigere, quæ non poſſunt niſi unà perire.

Prima ætate à Roma condita uſque ad Annibalem Italiâ Africaque ejectum, * *Tollitur*, ut ait Ennius, *è medio ſapientia, vi geritur res : Spernitur orator bonus, horridu' miles amatur.* Inde ad Auguſtum maturitatem pono : in quâ eluxerunt illa literarum lumina, Gracchi, Scævolæ, Tuberones, Craſſi, Hortenſii, Cicerones, Varrones. Huic ætati, ingeniorum feraciſſimæ, debemus Livium, Salluſtium, Plautum, Lucretium, Virgilium : nec minùs magnos imperatores, Mummium, Marium, Syllam, Pompejum, Agrippam ; & in cœlum ferendos propter ſummam in utroque genere præſtantiam, M. Catonem, P. Africanum, & C. Cæſarem. Quæ tamen ætas ita rudis fuit artium ad luxum pertinentium, ita parùm intelligens Græcarum deliciarum ; ut Mummius, magnus, ut dixi, imperator, capta Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum manibus perfectas tabulas, ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, *ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eos reddituros.*

Poſt Auguſtum, defloreſcente jam penitus bellicâ laude, ſtanteque republica non vi ſua, ſed rerum prius geſtarum gloriâ ; ex domitis nationibus peregrinis hauſta, infuſaque in mores civitatis peregrinitas, ut eadem ſtudia, quaſi progreſſu quodam naturali, idem ubique exitus maneret. Ita dominante luxurie, cum homines beati & locupletes, voluptatibus immerſi, literarum ſtudia ad Græculos ſervos rejicerent, dum putarent ſe ſcire, quod quiſquam in domo ſua ſciret ; à ſervilibus ingeniis artes liberales corruptæ, emortuam jam ante rem militarem haud longo intervallo conſecutæ ſunt ; niſi quod ſub Trajano principe, † cùm iterum moveret lacertos imperium, reddita quaſi juventute, bonæ quoque literæ efflorſuerunt. Teſtes fero è Græcis Plutarchum, Lucianum : è noſtris Plinium, Tacitum. Et dubitamus adhuc eas artes poſſe conjungi, quæ in civitate, omnium gentium principe, ſimul floruerunt, ſimul perierunt, ſimulque renatæ ſunt ?

Num apud Græcos ſecus ? Prima ætas uſque ad Medica tempora, armis exercitatiſſima, literarum penè rudis. Inde ad Philippum Demetrii altera, literis armiſque florens, in qua Cimon, Alcibiades, Philippus Amyntæ, Alexander, Seleucus, Demetrius, ſummi imperatores : & in omni philoſophia principes, Socrates, Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtoteles, Chryſippus. Non eſt neceſſe de ſingulis ; nefas tamen fuerit de Pericle, Thucydide, Xenophonte Socratico, Dione Platonico, qui in utroque genere excelluerunt, ſilere. Ne in noſtra quidem republica factum eſt illud, quod plerique putant, literarum & armorum divortium ; cùm iis ipſis temporibus, quibus majores tui, Auguſtiſſima Regina, terrorem nominis ſui in Galliam, Hiſpaniam Siciliam, Cyprum, Aſiam, Ægyptum intuliſſent, elucerent domi illa hujus Academiæ ornamenta, Europæ lumina, Rogerus Bacon, Walterus Burley, Scotus, Occhamus, Wiclevus : quos, cùm ab omnibus cùm ingenii, tum doctrinæ ſubſidiis fuerint inſtructiſſimi, iſto orationis flore, quo nunc fere ſolùm, certè nimium gloriamur, æquiſſimo animo patior carere.

Quid, quòd ne alterum quidem ſine altero horum ſtudiorum poteſt eſſe perfectum ? Literæ ab Imperatore præſidium mutuantur & tutelam, id eſt, ſpiritum & vitam : reddunt multa magnaque & adjumenta belli, & ornamenta victoriæ : Hiſtoriæ veteris notitiam, id eſt, maximè certam brevemque, maximè multiplicem, minimeque periculoſam rerum gerendarum ex geſtis ſcientiam. Do L. Lucullum, qui Roma perfectus rei militaris rudis, rebus geſtis legendis in Aſiam venit factus imperator : P. Africanum, qui *Cyri Diſciplinam* à Xenophonte ſcriptam, nunquam ſolebat ponere de manibus illis glorioſis, quibus Numantia & Carthago, duæ urbes Romani æmulæ faſtigii, exciſæ ſunt. Addo ex philoſophia ſapientibus ſententiis, gravibuſque verbis ornatam orationem ; qua militum animos poſſit jacentes erigere, ferocientes reprimere, inflammatos reſtinguere : Addo temperamentum morum, & ſedationem perturbationum : nequid in bello iratè, in victoria ſuperbè, in pace ultra civilem modum ; neu cædibus & rapinis aſſueta mens, immanitate efferetur.

* Vide Cicer. Orationem pro L. Murena : et Gellii, lib. xx. cap. 9.

† A Cæſare Auguſto in ſeculum noſtrum haud multo minus anni ducenti ; quibus inertia Cæſarum quaſi conſenuit atque decoxit : niſi quod ſub Trajano principe movet lacertos, & præter ſpem omnium, ſenectus imperii, quaſi reddita juventute, revireſcit. *Florus.*

Quid illa abſtruſiora? Aſtronomia, inquit Plato, Imperatori futurò neceſſaria eſt ad temporum viciſſitudines noſcendas: Arithmetica ad acies inſtruendas: Geometria ad caſtra matanda, loca capienda, figurandos exercitus: hinc urbium muniendarum peritia; hinc bellicorum tormentorum, operumque machinatrix. Ab hac diſciplina profectus Archimedes, legionum & claſſium impetum ſolus perlevi momento luto ludificatus eſt: contrà, Philippus Demetrii ſcalarum brevitate, id eſt, ignoratione Geometriæ, à Melitæenſium oppido rejectus; Nicias ſuperſtitione lunaris defectus, id eſt, ignoratione Aſtronomiæ, cum exercitu cæſus in Sicilia. Idem cùm * Sulpitius Gallus in bello cum Perſa provideret; prædiceretque militibus, ne id pro portento acciperent, quod ordine naturali, ſtatis temporibus fiat; magnum momentum ad debellendam Macedoniam, id eſt, ad Romanum imperium conſtituendum, viſus eſt attuliſſe. Quare cùm his tot, ac tantis adminiculis perficiatur ars Imperatoria; neque aliunde ſint ea, quàm ex media deprompta philoſophia; concedamus ſanè, ea ſtudia ſimul eſſe poſſe, quæ niſi ſimul, non poſſunt eſſe abſoluta.

Neque tamen non eſt aliquid, quod contra affertur, Philoſophiam avocare animum à ſenſibus, & contemplationi tradere rerum, dii boni! maximarum, ſed ab hac conſuetudine populari abhorrentium: quarum illecebris, quaſi quodam Circæo poculo delinita mens, ad rempublicam tractandam, ad res manu gerendas, nolit accedere, nè poſſit quidem. " Nam *cùm* " *natura*, ut ait philoſophus, *faciat unum ad unum, difficileque ſit pluribus in rebus eundem ex-* " *cellere*;" tum certè difficillimum, in tam diffidentibus, & natura diſparatis. Ex humoribus, quibus conſtamus, aptiſſima ad Philoſophiam melancholia, ad arma bilis, ad voluptates ſanguis; quartus ille pituita gravis, ne ad mala quidem bonus. Plato tres animæ partes ponit, ſedibus diſcluſas: rationalem in capite, iraſcibilem in corde, concupiſcibilem in jecore. Ad rationalem pertinet philoſophia, ad iraſcibilem ars militaris, voluptuariæ ad tertium genus.

Quod ſi poſſent illi humores ita commiſceri, aut iſtæ ſive partes animæ, ſive facultates, ita conjungi, ut altera vim alterius non infringeret, non debilitaret: haberemus, id quod quærimus, in milite philoſophum. Aut ſi hoc difficile eſt, cùm ob alia, tum quia utriuſque ſtudii eâdem pæne ætate, multo ſudore, multiſque vigiliis facienda ſunt tyrocinia; ſecernamus, ſi placet, à milite totum hoc philoſophari; relinquamus imperatori, ut contemplativis mediocriter tinctus ſit; morali verò civilique philoſophia, & politiore literatura penitus imbutus. Atque ut demus vera eſſe, quæ ſunt ab ornatiſſimis magiſtris allata; tamen eam vim habent pleraque, non ut in una republica ſimul eſſe non poſſint, ſed ut ne in uno homine: ne nos quidem civitatem ex philoſophis conſtare volumus. quid enim ad vim arcendam foret ineptius? neque ex militibus totam: nam quid turbulentius? Reſpublica nimirum debet eſſe unita, non una. Cujus dignitas ſaluſque non una laude, ſed uno omnium rerum laudandarum temperamento continetur.

Sequitur Aſtrologia, quam eventis fallacem, uſu ſuperſtitioſam, à barbaris nationibus importatam, bonis temporibus Græciæ ignotam, etiam malis Roma pulſam, tot ſenatuſconſultis, tot principum reſcriptis damnatam, ſuffragantibus omnium ætatum philoſophis, (plebeios quoſdam excipio) politiciſque, è republica exterminamus: artem, (quod in arte turpiſſimum eſt) nullis textam principiis, nullâ ſubnixam demonſtratione, nullo conſtantem ſyllogiſmo. Verum eſt, cœlum in hæc inferiora luce, motu, virtute agere: iſta omnia fovere, animare; Obliquum circulum cauſam eſſe ortûs & interitûs; à ſole & homine generari hominem; ſed ab homine, ut cauſa propinqua propriaque, quæ materiam ſuppeditet; à ſole, ut inter efficientes coadjuvante, remotaque, & generali: qui uno & eodem calore, & ſemen Aconiti animat ad venenum, & Braſſicæ ad alimentum, & Rhabarbari ad medicinam; non naturam aliquam inſerendo, ſed ea in actum, in lucem, producendo, quæ prius in materiæ potentiis delitescebant.

Itaque ſanus, an morboſus ſim; acutus an hebes; albus an ater, nihil ad cœlum ſtellaſque: quæ eodem lumine, eodem cœli ſitu, eodem momento, omnibus iiſdem agentia, & ex materia ſanè diſpoſita ſanum producunt infantem, & ex morbosè morboſum. Quid illa externa? pauper an dives, honoribus clarus, an ſecus? quæ rerum fortuitarum temerario intercurſu, noſtræque voluntatis libero motu, infinitis modis variata, nullum habent cum cœlo commercium. Sed de Aſtrologia facilius eſt tacere, quàm pauca dicere.

* Ab aliis Caius Gallus appellatur. Vide *Ciceronem de Senectute.*

Reliquæ

Reliquæ ſunt, Auguſtiſſima Regina, partes officii noſtri, maximis tuis immortalibuſque in nos, in rempublicam, in orbem Chriſtianum, meritis debitæ, atque conſecratæ. Patere igitur, ut id unus pro omnibus dicam, quod iſti omnes de tua Majeſtate taciti ſentiunt. Patere, tuam in obtinendo imperio felicitatem, in conſtituendo ſapientiam, in tuendo fortitudinem, in adminiſtrando conſtantiam, cæteras virtutes tuas, quæ omnium gentium literis, & linguis commemoratæ ſunt, tuorum quoque, ad quos tantarum virtutum fructus propiùs pertinet, voce celebrari. Cùm eſſent omnia, fato quodam ſuperiorum temporum, plena ſuſpicionum domi, foris bellum certum, aut pax infida: cùm in oculis, in viſceribus noſtris hæreret, ex illo infelici conjugio contractum, pertinax malum, Hiſpanorum dominatio: cùm effuſum eſſet ærarium, imminuti fines imperii, præſidia milite, arces tormentis denudatæ; in his tot tantiſque difficultatibus eluxit tua ſingularis, ac verè divina ſapientia, diviniſſima Princeps.

Gladium, in illa rerum mutatione ac tranſitu, vaginâ vacuum Anglia non vidit: vidit plauſus, clamores, exultationes omnium ordinum, ætatum, hominum, niſi quibus expediret eſſe malum principem, hoc eſt, quàm diſſimillimum tui. Tu Hiſpanos à capite, à cervicibus noſtris, aut invitos depuliſti, aut remiſiſti volentes. Tu publicam fidem, anguſtiis ærarii vacillantem, prædiorum tuorum, rerumque pretioſiſſimarum venditione levaſti. Tu oppida amiſſa, pactis conventis, quod in te fuit, recepiſti: obſidum fugâ, & quorundam perfidiâ, quod præſtare non poteras, perdidiſti. Cumque tuæ caſtiſſimæ puriſſimæque menti nihil placeret ſallax, nihil fucatum; Tu, nummis adulterinis ſublatis, commercia revocaſti, fidem reſtituiſti. Tu religionem, majorum incuriâ collapſam, aut ipſo tempore deſidentem, incredibili animi fortitudine renovâſti, communeque Aſylum omnibus gentibus aperuiſti: neque dubitaſti nova princeps, cùm omnes propinquæ nationes propter veteres inimicitias eſſent infenſæ, longinquarum quoque odium hac novitate provocare.

Ab his initiis profecta, ſediſti deinceps belli paciſque arbitra, inter reges Chriſtianos Regina: qui à factioſis civibus vexati, aut potentiorum injuriis per vim pulſi, in tuo conſilio, armis, opibus acquieſcunt. Teſtis Valeſiorum familia, quorum infantiam conſiliis tuis rexiſti, ferociam mitigaſti; domumque ruentem, quantum in te fuit, ſuſtinuiſti. Teſtis illuſtriſſima hæc Borboniorum, qui tuis unius freti armis, nixi pecuniis, non aliâ re magis, quàm Majeſtate nominis tui ſtantes, Te parentem agnoſcunt, Te deam venerantur. Teſtis Luſitania, cujus regem extorrem ejectumque liberaliſſimo hoſpitio accepiſti. Teſtis Germania, Dania, Suetia; quæ tuo nutu arma ſumunt, ponuntque. Quid Chriſtianos dico? cùm ipſi Turcarum imperatores, quibus, ante hujus beatiſſimi ſeculi lumen, ne nomen quidem hujus inſulæ unquam fando auditum, tui reverentia nominis arma abjecerint, pacemque Polonis jam ad ultima redactis, Te interveniente, conceſſerint.

Dixi de ſingulis ferè partibus; nunc de univerſo orbe Chriſtiano. Cujus cum maxima pars, aut hæreditate relicta, aut affinitatibus comprehenſa, aut armis devicta Unius juſſu regeretur; cùm Galliam per emiſſarios, Turciam per mercenarios obtineret; cùm Germania partibus, Polonia bellis deſtineretur; cùm omnes omnium gentium principes, proceres, aut ſocordia negligerent, aut timore abſcederent, aut avaratia inclinarent, quâ, junctis nuper Orientis & Occidentis opibus, aurum præponderebat; cùm aucta, ut fit, ex proſperis cupiditate, animus haud obſcurè adjectus eſſet ad imperium univerſi, omniaque nemine impediente, in Unius ſinum caſura viderentur; hîc tua divina virtus enituit, hîc invictum animi robur, cum ſapientia ſingulari. Quæ, oppreſſis primùm domeſticorum inſidiis, (*quod dii prius omen in ipſum*) rupto fœdere Burgundico, quod Ipſe, immiſſo in tuam provinciam latrocinio, priùs ruperat, receptis in ſocietatem Belgis, ampliatiſque imperii finibus tot urbium acceſſione, bellum terra marique, pro ſalute omnium ſuſceptum, ſola geſſiſti. Quod cujus manibus adminiſtratum ſit, non quæro, cùm videam tuis auſpiciis, tuis conſiliis provincias adjunctas, urbes captas, naves direptas, claſſes depreſſas; non hoſtium fines, ſed urbem, ſedem imperii, tuis ſignis appetitam, obſeſſam, oppugnatam. Tuis conſiliis Indiæ, quanta terræ totius pars, quantula tuorum manu, quam incredibili celeritate victoriis peragratæ! Tuis, tuis (intelligo, quid dicam) conſiliis, tabulis armiſque completa omnis hæc Oceani ora, conſtrata cadaveribus littora. Tuis auſpiciis Hiſpania Anglum non vidit, niſi victorem, aut victoriæ immortuum; Anglia Hiſpanum,

num, niſi captivum. Itaque ſtant tuorum objectu armorum, tuorum oppoſitu laterum, quot ſunt in Europa regna, principatus : ipſique adeo Pontifici, nominis tui infenſiſſimo hoſti, unà cùm cæteris, abſque tuis armis, vel ſerviendum fuit, vel pereundum.

Bonitatem, clementiam, juſtitiam, æquitatem, (iſta pervulgata, ac propè decantata) in tanta principe referre, regiarum & heroicarum virtutum, quæ in Majeſtate tua elucent, injuria fuerit. Ne id quidem attingam, quæ mala quàm conſtanti animo privata pertuleris ; quæ tamen & gratiorem præſentis felicitatis ſenſum attulerunt tibi, tuiſque civibus certiſſimam ſalutem, principem habere, quæ & ſemper cogitet, crebriſque ſermonibus uſurpet, quid aut noluerit ſub alio principe, aut voluerit. Illa commemorabo, quæ vulgò minùs nota, non minùs certè mirabilia ad laudem : Te, cùm tot literis legendis, tot dictandis, tot manu tua ſcribendis ſufficias ; cùm conſiliariorum tuorum, in minimis etiam rebus, ſententias dijudices ; cùm privatorum precibus, principum legationibus per te reſpondeas, de ſubditorum quoque privatis controverſiis ſæpiſſimè cognoſcas ; in iſta tamen diſtrictiſſima vita, non principum, (quorum aliæ ſunt noſtris moribus artes) ſed pænè mortalium doctiſſimam evaſiſſe : Te magnam diei partem in graviſſimorum autorum ſcriptis legendis, audiendiſque ponere : neminem niſi ſua lingua tecum loqui : Te cum nemine niſi ipſorum, aut omnium communibus Latina, Græcaque.

Omitto plebeios philoſophos, quos rarò in manus ſumis. Quoties divinum Platonem animadverti tuis interpretationibus diviniorem effectum ! quoties Ariſtotelis obſcuritates, principis philoſophorum, à principe fœminarum evolutas, atque explicatas ! Dicerem liberè, nemini unquam ad ſacratiſſimam Majeſtatem tuam aditum patuiſſe ſemidocto, qui non ex tuis ſermonibus diſceſſerit doctiſſimus ; niſi meæ vehementer me pœniteret tarditatis, qui in tam illuſtri ſchola tam parùm profecerim.

Itaque literas, literatiſſima Princeps, tuere ac protege : id eſt, nobis, qui hîc vivimus, noſtra privilegia ; illis, quos emiſimus ſuam dignitatem, ſua præmia in Republica, in Eccleſia, quod facis, conſerva. Academiam utramque novis immunitatibus munire, novis legibus fundare perge. Utraque à te ornata, in te ornanda certabit, cæteroqui omni genere laudis pares ; hoc noſtra felicior, quòd tuos vultus iterum intuetur, in cujus oculis habitant Gratiæ, in fronte Benignitas, in ore Majeſtas, in pectore Sapientia, in manibus Liberalitas, in toto corpore Pulchritudo & Venuſtas, digna principe, digna tantis prognata principibus, digna imperio : ut tecum jam propè, parens Natura, redeamus in gratiam ; quæ, cùm parem, effuſis hic viribus, procreare non poſſes, neminem voluiſti ex tanta principe diſparem ſupereſſe.

LETTERS

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OF

Mr. *ROGER ASCHAM*,

Tranſcribed by the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Baker*, B. D. of St. *John*'s College, *Cambridge*, from the Originals, indorſed by the hand of *William* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High Treaſurer in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and formerly in the cuſtody of the Reverend Mr. *John Strype*.

To Mr. RAVEN, fellow of St. *John*'s college, in *Cambridge*.

S. P. in Chriſt Jeſu.

OUR journey out of *England* to *Maclyn (a)* in *Brabant*, I wrote unto you from *Colen*. Obſerve this—to write unto me how many letters you receive from me; what day they be written, and from what place. I wrote unto you four letters from *Graveſend (b)*, from *Calato*, from *Antwerp (c)*, from *Colen (d)*; and this is the firſt from *Auguſta (e)*.

As I wrote in my laſt letter, 3d *Oct.* we came to *Maclyn*. I told you at large both of the abbey with 1600 nuns, and alſo the lantſgrave *(f)*,

* Theſe letters are unſkilfully tranſcribed, ſo that proper names are not always recoverable.

(a) Mechlin. *(b)* 21 *Sept.* 1551. *Roger Aſchami Epiſt. lib.* 3. *(c) Oct.* 1. ibid. *(d) Oct.* 12. ibid. *(e) Augſburg.* *(f)* of *Heſſe*. See *Aſcham*'s letter to *Edward Raven*, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212. edit. Lond. 1590.

whom we ſaw priſoner. He is luſty, well-favoured, ſomething like Mr. *Hebilthrout* in the face; haſty, inconſtant; and to get himſelf out of priſon, would fight, if the Emperor would bid him, with *Turk*, *French*, *England*, God, and the Devil. The Emperor perceiving his buſy head without conſtancy, handles him thereafter: his own *Germano*, as it is ſaid, being well content that he is forthcoming.

John-Frederick is clear contrary, noble, courageous, conſtant, one in all fortunes, deſired of his friends, reverenced of his foes, favoured of his Emperor, loved of all. He hath been proffered of late, it is ſaid, by the Emperor, that if he will ſubſcribe to his proceedings, to go at large, to have all his dignities and honour again, and more too. His anſwer was from the firſt one, and is ſtill, that he will take the Emperor for his gracious ſovereign lord: but to forſake God and his doctrine, he will never do, let the Emperor do with his body what he will.

At *Maclyn* we ſaw a ſtrange bird. The Emperor doth allow it 8 *d.* a-day. It is milk-white, greater than a ſwan, with a bill ſomewhat like a ſhovel, and having a throat well able to ſwallow, without grief or touch of creſt *, a white penny-loaf of *England*, except your bread be bigger than your bread-maſter of St. *John*'s is wont willingly to make it. The eyes are as red as fire, and, as they ſay, an hundred years old. It was wont in *Maximilian*'s days to fly with him whitherſoever he went.

4 *Octob.* we went to *Bruxelles*, twelve miles. In the mid-way is a town called *Vilfort*, with a notable ſtrong hold of the Emperor's in it. Traitors and condemned perſons lie there. At the town's end is a notable ſtrong place of execution, where worthy *Will. Tyndall* was unworthily put to death. Ye can match *Bruxelles* in *England* but with *London*.

At afternoon I went about the town. I came to the frier *Carmelites* houſe, where *Edward Billick* was warden; not preſent there, but being then at *Colen*, in another houſe of his, I heard their even-ſong: after I deſired to ſee the library. A frier was ſent to me, and led me into it.

* Touch of creſt I do not underſtand; perhaps it may be without touch of *cruſt*, without breaking the cruſt.

There

There was not one good book but *Lyra*. The frier was learned, ſpoke *Latin* readily, entered into *Greek*, having a very good wit, and a greater deſire to learning. He was gentle, and honeſt; and being a papiſt, and knowing me to be a proteſtant, yet ſhewed me all gentleneſs, and would needs give me a new book in verſe, titled, *De Ruſticitate Morum*.

6 *Octob.* from *Bruxelles* to *Louvain*, twelve miles. We came hither at eleven, and went away before two; and there to feaſt mine eyes and ears, I was content to loſe my dinner. I went ſtrait to Mr. *Branſbil*'s houſe, ſtanding againſt the grey-friers door. He was not at home, but was ridden to *Antwerp*, to have conveyed my lord Ambaſſador to *Louvain*. He left word, that if he miſſed my lord by the way, that I in any caſe ſhould lie and uſe his houſe as my own, in his abſence. His houſe is trim. I wrote a letter to him with his own ink and paper. He is loved of all, and regarded with the beſt; nor doth not uſe the company of *J. Clement*, and *Baſtall*, who, to ſee a maſs freely in *Flanders*, are content to forſake, like their country. As we entered into our inn, the vice-chancellor, with his bedels, came out of our inn, the vice-chancellor being more like in apparel and porte to our prieſt of *Hornyngſhire*, than to the comelineſs of Mr. Dr. *Parker*, and the bedels more like *Harry Barber*, and than Mr. *Adams* and Mr. *Meyres*.

I went to *P. Nannius*'s chamber, to have talked with him; but he was either drunken at home, or drinking abroad; for he was making merry, and could not be ſeen, as an *Engliſh* boy, his pupil, told me. He reads *Tully*'s Orations at nine of the clock: at one of the clock, *Theodorus*. *Laudius* read (whom I heard) *Oed. Sophocle Græcè*. He read that chiding place betwixt *Oedipus* and *Creon*, beginning ἐκ εἰδ', *&c.* reading twenty-one verſes. His hearers, being about eighty, did knock him out with ſuch a noiſe, as I have not heard. This college is called *Trilingue* and *Ruſlidianum*, where he reads it. *Louvain*'s, as far as I could mark, were compared with *Cambridge*, *Trilingue* with St. *John*'s, or *Trinity* college, *Theod. Laudius* with Mr. *Car*. Ours do far excel. The reader, in οῖ, followed our pronunciation. I tarried ſo long at his lectures, that my lord was ridden out of the town; and as I poſted after my lord, ſo do I now poſt out of *Louvain* to *Tilemont*, nine miles off.

The town is walled, and ſo is every town we lay in betwixt *Dover* and *Auguſta*. There I ſaw nuns and papiſts dance at a bridal. Theſe be news to you, but olds to that country, where it is lawful in that Babylonical papiſtry to ſerve *Bacchus*, and what unhoneſty they will, ſo they meddle not with Chriſt, and his word: *Nam quæ communio tenebris cum luce?*

We were drawn up the *Rhine* by horſes. The grapes grow on the brant rocks ſo wonderfully, that ye will marvell how men dare climb up to them, and yet ſo plentifully, that it is not only a marvell where men be found to labour it, but alſo where men dwell that drink it. Seven or eight days journey ye cannot caſt your ſight over the compaſs of vines. And ſurely this wine of *Rhine* is ſo good and natural, ſo temperate, ſo very like itſelf, as can be wiſhed for man's uſe. I was afraid when I came out of *England* to miſs beer; but I am more afraid when I ſhall come to *England*, that I cannot lack this wine.

19 *Octob.* to *Wormes*. The great church of this city appears all the way like King's college cradell. The city is great and fair; but becauſe the plague was in it, I kept me in my inn.

20 *Octob.* to *Spira*, a good city. Here I firſt ſaw *Sturmius de periodis*. I found alſo here *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Antigone* of *Sophocles*, excellently, by my judgment, tranſlated into verſe, and fair printed this ſummer by *Gryphius*. Your ſtationers do ill, that at leaſt not provide you the regiſter of all books, eſpecially of old authors. Here, at *Spires*, we were a day's journey and a half from *Argentine*. My lord was willing to go thither; and whether I was or no, you, *Edward Raven*, can gueſs: but word came from Mr. *Hobbie*, I beſhrew him, to haſte our journey; or elſe I had talked with *Sturmius*, to whom I wrote, and ſent Mr. *Bucer*'s letters; and he wrote again to me at *Auguſta*, ſending me the copy, which Mrs. *Bucer* brought to me to *Cambridge*. One ſentence *Sturmius* wrote to me in his laſt letter, which ſome of you will be glad to hear. The ſentence is this: *Regis non memini præfatione, ut nunc loquuntur, ad D. Elizabetham. Ejus Majeſtati locus deſtinatur in Ariſtotelicis meis dialogis, in quibus ſtylum meum cotidie acuo, ut ſiquid poſſit contra barbariem, in heis oſtendat quantulum ſit, quod in eâ conficiendâ poſſit.*

23 *Octob.*

23 *Octob.* we rode thro' the duke of *Vilebergland*, thro' which runs the goodly river called *Neccarus*. We met with a noble lady, which is the dutcheſs of *Milan* and *Lorraine*, daughter to the king of *Denmark*. She ſhould once have been married to king *Henry* the VIII. before my lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. She had been with the Emperor, and, as ſome thought, ſhe went a-wooing to the prince of *Spain*. She had in her company about 300 horſes, moſt part great horſes, and *Gennets*, herſelf having ſixteen ladies following her on palfreys. She had thirty-ſix mules laded with her chamber-ſtuff, beſides a great number of waggons laded with other ſtuff. A great number of raſcals belonging to her kitchen and ſtable came drabbling in the dirt on foot.

I never ſaw lady of her porte in my life.

Some of you will jeſt at my diligence in ſeeking old monuments; but I do it for the remembrance *Veteris & amici & præceptoris*, Mr. *Pember*, whom I do not forget, and I know would hold me excuſed, becauſe I write not to him, if he knew what buſineſs I have, I pray you, Mr. *Raven*, make him partaker of this my trifling talk.

But friends is content with all things. I pray you, Mr. *Raven*, uſe Mr. *Pember* as you would uſe me; commend me to him, Mr. *Raven*, and deſire him, which, I know, he doth, to learn Chriſt out of Chriſt's own goſpel; and let that *conſenſus eccleſiæ* alone, which deceives many worthy and learned wits in *Cambridge*, which is nothing elſe indeed but a privy ſink to convey the dregs of papiſtry into all places. Papiſtry here do uſe it to confirm the primacy of *Rome*.

28 *Octob.* We rode towards *Auguſta*, a mile on this ſide the city. Sir *Philip Hobbie*, with a great number of horſes, where was *Thomas Hobbie*, and *George Wheatly*, mine old friend, which did convey us honourably to our lodgings, which is the abbey of St. *George*. Ye may ſee it in deſcription. And thus ye may bid me welcome to *Auguſta*. And if I ſhould bid you farewell alſo, ye would now give me leave, becauſe I am ſure ye are weary of my long talk: but becauſe I think ſome of you would glad hear how we have done ſince we came, I will yet a little mo trouble you.

I thank God, and my lord Ambaſſador, I lack no moneys, which is the beſt comfort in a ſtrange country; only I lack leiſure to write to my friends when I would, and to learn the tongues here is. I could wiſh I had wrote part of this letter three months ago; and now it is the 3d of *January*. Five days in the week my lord and I continually do ſtudy the *Greek* tongue, that I am alway either looking for my lord's lectures, or elſe with my lord: two days I write my lord's letters into *England*; ſo that I never ſo much as go into the town, but only on *Tueſdays*, to deliver our letters to the poſt. If I had leiſure to mark things, and write things, I trow I would come as well furniſhed home as moſt part of *Engliſhmen* do. And that thing which I thought ſhould have been the cauſe, why I ſhould have ſent you many news, doth in a manner forbid me to ſend any; and that is, becauſe I know ſo much; and being in this room that I am, I muſt needs keep them cloſe, becauſe they be credit unto me; and though I knew them otherwiſe, yet I muſt and will let them alone. *Vahan* hath a better life than either my lord or I. He lacks nothing; he fares well; he lives well; he may do what he liſts; ſtudy what thing he liſt; go to the Emperor's court, or elſewhere, when he liſt. If he do not come home well furniſhed with much knowledge, he little conſider what God doth call him to by this journey. If I were any man's man, as *Vahan* is mine, I would wiſh no better felicity abroad. Thoſe that ſtopped *S. Wright* from this occaſion, ſhall never be able to make him amends; for in lacking nothing he ſhould have ſtudied, and ſeen what he had liſt. There can be a greater *commodity* to an *Engliſhman* abroad. If *Wrights* had ten fellowſhips of St. *John*'s, it would not counter-weigh with the loſs of this occaſion: for beſides *Dutch*, *French*, and *Italian*, which he ſhould have learned, in a manner, whether he would or no, he might have learned as much *Greek* and *Latin*, and perhaps more, than in St. *John*'s. I am almoſt an *Italian* myſelf, and never look on it.

If I ſhould tell you nothing of *Auguſta*, I ſhould do ſuch a noble city much wrong. At a few things, gueſs the reſt. There be five merchants in this town, thought able to diſburſe as much ready money as five of the greateſt kings in Chriſtendom. The Emperor would have borrowed money of one of them. The merchant ſaid, he might ſpare him ten hundred thouſand guilders, and the Emperor would have had eighteen;

eighteen; a guilder is 3 *s.* 6 *d.* Theſe merchants be three brethren, *Tuccurs*, two brethren, *Bamgartner*. One of the *Tuccurs* doth lodge, and hath done all the year, in his houſe, the Emperor, the king of the *Romans*, the prince of *Spain*, and the queen of *Hungary*, regent of *Flanders*, which is here, beſides his family and children. His houſe is covered with copper: there be a number of houſes in this town, which ſet in *Cheapſide*, would over-look and over-brag the whole ſtreet.

There comes to this town commonly every market-day, three and twenty hundred waggons loaded with things to ſell, *&c.*

I have ſeen the Emperor twice, firſt ſick in his privy chamber, at our firſt coming. He looked ſomewhat like the parſon of *Epurſtone*. He had on a gown of black taffety, and a furred night-cap on his head, *Dutch*-like, having a ſeam over the crown, like a great cod-piece. I ſaw him alſo on St. *Andrew*'s day, ſitting at dinner at the feaſt of Golden Fleece; he and *Ferdinando* both under one cloth of eſtate; then the prince of *Spain*; all of one ſide, as the knights of the Garter do in *England*; after orderly, Mr. *Buſſie*, maſter of the horſe, duke *d'Alva*, a *Spaniard*, *Dux Bavariæ*, the prince of *Piedmont*, the count of *Hardenburgh*.

I ſtood hard by the Emperor's table. He had four courſes; he had ſod beef very good, roaſt mutton, baked hare: theſe be no ſervice in *England*. The Emperor hath a good face, a conſtant look: he fed well of a capon. I have had a better from mine hoſteſs *Barnes* many times in my chamber. He and *Ferdinando* eat together very handſomely, carving themſelves where they liſt, without any curioſity. The Emperor drank the beſt that ever I ſaw; he had his head in the glaſs five times as long as any of us, and never drank leſs than a good quart at once of *Rheniſh* wine. His chapel ſung wonderful cunningly all the dinner-while. *Ferdinando* is a very homely man; gentle to be ſpoken to of any man, and now of great power and riches.

The prince of *Spain*, I think, is not all in ſo wiſe as his father. *Maximilian*, *Ferdinando*'s ſon, now king of *Boeme*, is a worthy gentleman, learned, wiſe, liberal, gentle, loved and praiſed of all.

The

The general council ſhall begin at *Trident* the firſt of next *May*. Cardinal *Pool* ſhall be preſident there, as it is commonly ſaid. I have ſeen the Pope's bull already for it.

If Mr. *Cheke* would get a living of the king, my lord Ambaſſador would ſend me to ſee all *Italy*, and other countries. So I believe I would report the manner of the general council, and mark the ſeat of the world, as well as ſome other. I would truſt to have the letters of moſt ambaſſadors to their cities, that I might more freely ſee things than commonly *Engliſhmen* do, that go into *Italy*. My lord hath promiſed me to write to Mr. *Cheke* and others for the ſame purpoſe: and I do not doubt but my † lady's grace, my miſtreſs, when ſhe ſhall conſider the honeſt and true ſervice that I did her, will help alſo the ſame.

God's doctrine is ſo earneſt in this town, as I never ſaw. The churches be made like *theatra*, one ſeat higher than another, and round about be ſtages, as it is at the King's College buttery-door; and in Chriſtmas the pulpit in the midſt.

The table of the Lord ſtands comely in the higher end. On Chriſtmas-day I did communicate amongſt them. There was above 1500 that did communicate that day.

Ye ſee, good fellows and friends, how glad I am to talk with you, remembering you always, wiſhing oft to be amongſt you, where is the moſt pleaſant life in the world. I ſhall not take pleaſure at things here, if I did not remember how gladly I ſhall talk of them amongſt you. He that is able to maintain his life in learning at *Cambridge*, knoweth not what a felicity he hath. I pray God I may meet with you there, whom I left at St. *John*'s. I do ſalute you all: I name none, becauſe I would leave out none, and becauſe I love all. I do make you weary. And thus fare you well all in the Lord, and pray for me.

Auguſta Vindelicorum, 20 *Januarii*, 1551.

R. A. *

† The lady (afterwards queen) Elizabeth.

* This letter being very long, ſeveral little particulars are left out; but nothing that alters or interrupts the ſenſe. The reſt are given entire. Mr. BAKER.

Cariſſimo Amico ſuo Edwardo Raveno, Socio Collegii Johannis.

I Am much beholden to my lord and my lady. I was yet, thanked be God, never ſick. This *Rheniſh* wine is ſo gentle a drink, I cannot tell how to do when I come home.

News ye look for, and few I dare write. Whether the Emperor go againſt the *Turk*, into *Italy*, into *Spain*, againſt *Magdeburgh*, or come down into *Flanders*, it is not yet certain. We will go with him whitherſoever he go, except he go to the Devil. The *Turk* cometh with a great power againſt *Hungary*. *Ferdinando*, within theſe two days, departs hence to meet the *Turk* aforehand, with his two noble ſons, *Maximilian* king of *Boeme*, and *Ferdinando* archduke of *Auſtria*. *Maximilian* is a prince peerleſs, except the king our maſter. He is twenty-three years old, luſty, courageous, wiſe, hardy, liberal, gentle, learned, virtuous, godly. He can ſpeak eight tongues perfectly. I pray God he may give the *Turk* an overthrow. He carrieth with him the hearts, good wills, and prayers of rich and poor, and the commendation of all that is wiſe.

Fra. George, a ſtout frier, and a biſhop of *Tranſylvania*, (look your maps) gave the *Turks* an overthrow this winter. I ſaw *Fra. George*'s letter written to the palatine of *Rhine*, requiring aid of the princes of *Germany*. The letter was dated 12 *January* 1551. If we go into *Turky*, (I pray God we may) we ſhall ſail goodly down by noble *Danubizo*.

Pope *Julie* is a very king. He hath made a boy of his kitchen, an upper keeper *, Cardinal *de Monte*, whereof he was cardinal himſelf. Men ſay now, *Parturiant montes*; *naſcetur ſimia turpis*.

The Emperor laſt *Saturday* in his chapel, within *Tuccar*'s houſe, gave warning to all the electors and ſtates to be at the general council at *Trident* 1° *Maii*, where they ſay Cardinal *Pole* ſhall be preſident. But all wiſe men think there will be no council at all; for the Pope purpoſing neither to amend his life, nor redreſs his doctrine, may loſe more than win thereby. The *Germans* were never more ſtouter in God's cauſe. The Emperor is too wiſe and forecaſting a prince, either to fall out with

* This I do not underſtand.

Germany or the Pope; for by a general council, he is likely either to make the Pope, of an uncertain friend, a ſtedfaſt enemy; or elſe the *Germans*, of ſecret rapines, open foes. *Madenburge* be ſtout perſons. The duke of *Mechenburg*, who they took priſoner, is dead, as men ſay; and it is even now reported, that *Mauritius* hath raiſed his ſiege, and *Madenburge* ſtrongly furniſhed for two or three years. The Emperors have made war againſt that town, and have left their bodies buried in *Madenburge* for monuments, and the town as a maid undefiled. Well! God ſend quietneſs to his church. Men think there will be buſineſs about *Piemont* and *Milan* ſhortly.

England need fear no outward enemies. The luſty lads verily be in *England*. I have ſeen on a *Sunday* more likely men walking in St. *Paul*'s church than I ever ſaw yet in *Auguſta*, where lieth an Emperor with a garriſon, three kings, a queen, three princes, a number of dukes, *&c.*

Here was juſtes ſince *Candlemas*. The tilt was in a ſtreet before the Emperor's lodging. The houſes be eight or nine ſtories high, that a wonderful number of people may look out of windows. Their ſpears were ſmall, their deckings were above meaſure. The prince of *Spain* juſted gently; for he neither hurt himſelf, his horſe, his ſpear, nor him that he ran with. Noble *Maximilian* ran not.

If *Vahan* were an honeſt fellow, he might write at large of any thing; for he hath good leiſure.

Well, to bid you farewell: The *Turk* is ſet upon war, the Pope upon miſchief, the Emperor upon wiſdom and policy, the *Germans* upon God's doctrine; and the *Spaniards* alſo be the people of God, for all the world hates them.

I ſtudy *Greek* apace, but no other tongue; for I cannot. I truſt to ſee *England* ſhortly, God willing. I am ſorry that I hear no word from *Ireland*. Commendations to all, becauſe I would leave out none; to Dr. *Haddon*, father *Bucer*, *John Scarlett*, mine hoſteſs *Barnes*. If ye will ſee *Tuccar*'s library, look on Mr. *Pember*'s letter.——From *Auguſta*, 23 *Feb.* 1551.

I never yet received letter out of *England*.

To my aſſured and eſpecial friend Mr. Edward Raven, *fellow in St.* John's *College*, S. P.

I Cannot think, my good *Edward Raven*, that becauſe ye either forget me, or neglect me, ye write nothing unto me. I ſuppoſe ye know not how to ſend. Send to Mr. *Eland*, and he may deliver them at the *White-Friers* to Mr. *Stephen Hales*, and he can and will ſend them to me as fitly as you may ſend to *London*. My good *Thomas Leaver* hath not deceived me, but written a large letter unto me. I marvel that Mr. *Henry Stiland* writes not. None of you lacks matter; and your longeſt letters be moſt looked for. Write how good Dr. *Maden* doth, and all his. If I might have had a ſtroke in biſhoprics, I wiſh, *&c.* and I would I had been at home in *England* at that time. Commend me to Mrs. *Maden*, and our Col. *D. Maden*. If he and I live together, he ſhall be ſure of a ſtedfaſt loving friend. I aſk nothing ſo much as good-will; for all other goods I truſt to provide well enough myſelf.

Now, *Edward*, I pray you as him, whom I truſt and love as myſelf, mark the manner, towardneſs, and bringing up, *&c.* and whether Dr. *Maden* would be very glad thereof, or no; and whether he is plain in the matter, or double and wavering; for if, *&c.* Ye perceive what I mean, and add what ye liſt; for in this matter, or in any other, I truſt you as myſelf. Let no man read this letter, or ſee it; be ſecret and cloſe; and ſo bid Dr. *Maden*. But I need not write this to you. As you ſend me word of the matter, ſo ſhall you hear from me: for as I ſhall know your affections, ſo then I will enter into the matter myſelf more plainly. Ye need not let Dr. *Maden* ſee this part of my letter; for now I would only prove by you what this part would think of the matter, if it ſhould be. I do not doubt but ye will both do it friendly, and can handle it wiſely; for your counſell, *Edward*, and advice in that matter, ſurely I will follow. When you write, ſeal your letters ſo, that they may not be opened, *&c.*

Keep my chamber well: I heard ſay ſome was in it; I know not. What you do I am content, and well content. If the maſter meddle

in my intereſt, I am not content; and he had as good no. Be ſtout, *Edward*, and doubt not but I will and ſhall be able to bear you out.

Purpoſe, my *Edward*, to live in godlineſs, and learning; for that is life only. I ſee Emperors, kings, princes, *&c.* live not, but play their lives upon ſtages. Suſpicion, care, fear, need, and a thouſand miſeries and ἀπορία, turn and toſs their lives.

Edward, I purpoſe, God willing, that you and I will live together, and look and laugh at the world. I truſt to you to provide for us both; and that little that I ſhall have, take it, and uſe it as your own.

I am very well, thanked be God, and in great favour with my lord and lady. My lord ſurely is a witty man, and ſerves his God, his king, and his country, nobly here. If you hear any thing to the contrary, be bold, *Edward*, of my word to reprove it. Yeſterday we received letters from the king's council, full of thanks and gentleneſs.

Write how my money is received there, and make mine account well; and think not that 20 *l.* is my debt to you, *Edward*, but all that ever I have. Write of *Bucer*, and what my friend *Haddon* on him; but that I commit it to my *Henry Ailand*, to write at large of *Bucer*, becauſe you ſhall write of other matters. I truſt, *Will. Taylor*, *John Bee*, and *Thomas Wilſon*, will not be behind. I pray God I may find theſe good fellows at *Cambridge*; for there is the life that no man knows, but he that hath ſometimes lacked it, and eſpecially if one be able to live plentifully there.

Will. Ireland and *R. Calibret*, in *Eaſter* week, departed from *Venice* towards *England* through *France*. I beſhrew them they came not this way; and ſo tell my good *Ireland*. And I truſt, when he cometh home, ye two will take any thing that I have as your own. I write not this ſo oft, *Edward*, as I mean it faithfully, and from my heart; which doth cauſe me ſo oft to repeat it.

I know ye will anſwer all my letters with one long one. Make one packet of all your letters together, if any other will write, and ſo ſend them.

Some

Some news I muſt needs write.

The *Turk*'s armies entered *Tranſylvania*. The great king of *Tartary* is the *Turk*'s ſtandard-bearer; and the *Turk* hath made a league with the Sophy, which is king of *Perſia*. We ſhall have hot war in *Hungary*; and would to God the Emperor would go thither. *Ferdinando*, with his noble ſon king *Maximilian*, were almoſt both drowned of late in *Danubius*, going to *Vienna*.

The *Turk*'s preparation is very great *per mare Mediterraneum*, and the *Venetians* of late have ſent a great force into *Corcyra*. The prince *Andrew Doria* hath chaſed one of the *Turkiſh* captains, called *Dragunt Bois*, into ſuch a ſtate upon *Afric* ſhore, not far from the iſle of *Zerbic*, that he is like to be taken, with all his ſhips.

The matters of *Parma* and *Italy*, *Ireland* ſhall tell you. Some of the Pope's biſhops hath been at *Tridentum* at the beginning of *May*, and have deferred the council *ad calendas Septembris:* but I believe it be *ad calendas Græcas*.

Madeburg be vengeable fellows: they have almoſt marred all duke *Maurice*'s men; and yet they be as ſtrong as ever they were.

This I wrote the 10th of *May*; but this 12° *Maii* news are come, that *Andrew Doria* is either taken by the *Turks*, or at leaſt his whole navy loſt. The certainty ye ſhall ſhortly know: and this day I hear ſay, that the ſiege of *Madeburg* is quite diſpatched. The *French* king ſits upon the realm of *Navarre*. So many irons, and ſo hot, be ill to handle.

I hear from *Sturmius* every week.

Hieronimus Wolfius, that tranſlated *Demoſthenes* and *Iſocrates*, is in this town. I am well acquainted with him, and have brought him twice to my lord's to dinner. He looks very ſimple. He telleth me, that one *Borrheus*, that hath written well upon *Ariſtot. priorum*, *&c.* even now is printing goodly commentaries upon *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetoric. But *Sturmius* will obſcure them all.

Joachimus Camerarius hath two goodly books in printing at *Basil*, which he has been in hand withall many years. The one is commentaries upon *Plautus:* the other is called *De Homine*; a lexicon for all things *Greek* and *Latin* belonging *ad res humanas.*

The godlineſs, and conſtancy, and diſcipline of this town, is incredible. Three or four thouſand ſinging at one church at a time, is but a trifle. If a papiſtical church have a dozen, it is well furniſhed. Upon *Shrove-Thurſday*, at night, a wonderful * ſort of *Spaniards* did whip themſelves naked through the ſtreets, deep with ſorrow.

Ye write not to me; therefore I have no courage to do as I would, or elſe I would write many things to you.

There was many companies, *&c.* of the Emperor's houſe, 113, which went at nine of the clock at night, accompanied with 800 torches. No ſmall fools bore torches that night, but very many great lords, in gowns of crimſon and purple velvet, full of aggletts of gold.

The prince of *Piedmont*, the duke of *Alva*, one of the Emperor's council, bore torches that night; a wonderful Ἐθελοθρησκία to live ſo abominable all the year; and then will needs make amends with God whether he will or not.

I could declare to you, as I wrote it to my lady of *Warwick:* but I cannot tell what to ſay to you, ye be ſo unkind: I have called *Vahan L. K.* many times, that having ſo much leiſure, he never writes. But I now judge him wiſer than I. I know, *Edward*, there is no fault in you.

If ye will know how I do, I think I ſhall forget all tongues but the *Greek* afore I come home. I have read to my lord ſince I came to *Auguſta*, whole *Herodotus*, five tragedies, three orations of *Iſocrates*, ſeventeen orations of *Demoſthenes.* For underſtanding of the *Italian*, I am meet well; but ſurely I drink *Dutch* better than I ſpeak *Dutch.* Tell Mr. D. *Maden*, I will drink with him now a carouſe of wine; and would to God he had a veſſel of *Rheniſh* wine, on condition that I paid

* That is, a wonderfully numerous company.

40 *s.*

40 *s.* for it: and perchance, when I come to *Cambridge*, I will ſo provide here, that every year I will have a little piece of *Rheniſh* wine.

I would fain hear from my good couſin *Coniers*. We have word now, that the Emperor cometh down into *Flanders* the 29th of *May*.

If I can get leave of my lord Ambaſſador, ſurely, *Edward*, I will come home at *Michaelmas*.

Commend me to all *Joannenſes*, and leave none out; Mr. *Pember*, Mr. *Barwich*, good Mr. D. *Haddon*, *John Scarlett* and his wife, and my good hoſteſs *Barnes*, whom I cannot forget: to all at *Wittane*.

I write this letter by piece-meals; and this is the firſt letter you have had from me ſince *Candlemas*. Burn this letter. *Valete in Chriſto.*—— From *Auguſta*, 14 *Maii*, 1551. R. A.

P. S. Becauſe this paper is void, I cannot leave talking with you.

Madeburge, as it is ſaid, hath given within theſe thirteen days a great overthrow and ſlaughter to *Mauritius*.

They ſay that the marquis of *Brandenburg*'s *planta pedis* is ſmitten off with a gun by them of *Madeburge*.

They have gotten into the town many waggons laden with victuals. They have ploughed up all the gardens, and ſown wheat in them: they have taken up the ſtones in the ſtreets throughout all the town, and ſown wheat in the ſtreets, leaving only a little ſpace to paſs from houſe to houſe; and it is ſaid there is as goodly wheat in the city as ever grew. This will be both a great help, but chiefly it keepeth the people from idleneſs. I hear alſo, that *Conſules Madeburgenſes* be deſired by *Mauritius* to come to *Witenburge*, to talk of conditions of peace. God ſend peace, but peace in Chriſt.

I would be glad to have a letter from Mr. *D. Maden*, and ſo tell him. Tell *Henry Stiland*, that I am well acquainted with *Andreas Veſalius*, that noble

noble phyſician, and, as *Vahan* ſaith, the beſt phyſician in the world, becauſe he give him pitcher-meat enough. I was never ſick, thanked be God, ſince I came out of *England*. I pray you make Dr. *Blithe* partaker of this news of *Andrew Dorea*'s and *Madeburge*, for he is a man whom I always eſteemed.

If my lady of *Suffolk* be at *Cambridge*, know if my lord Ambaſſador's ſon, little Mr. *Charles Moriſin*, be there; and let not *Edward* but go and ſee him; and I pray you write diligently to me of him: and if he were not ſo young, I would ye ſhould bring him to my chamber, and ſhew the child ſome pleaſure; at leaſt often to do it for my ſake, *&c.* Write of his growing, of his wit, of his colour, *&c.*; for it is a good thing to pleaſe another well.

Keep theſe letters ſecret; ſhew them but by piece-meals: yet, *Edward*, inquire of him wiſely, leſt my lady of *Suffolk* ſuſpect it is done to prove how he is handled; and therefore write to me accordingly to this purpoſe of the child. But I need not warn you: ye can do me no greater pleaſure, for divers cauſes.

Ye ſee, *Edward*, how that with many pens, and divers inks, and ſundry times, I write this letter. I truſt my will to write ſhall match the marrs I make in it. I ſhall be ſorry if I hear tell *Waſhington* is gone from *Cambridge*, and glad to hear tell that *S. Wright*, by diligence, come to that pricke *, whereunto his goodly wit doth call him. I ſend my letters to my brother and couſin *Coniers* open to you, that ye may both ſee news, and largely told, and alſo learn to lap up a letter.

The *French* ſecretary told me this day, that there are news that duke *Maurice* himſelf is ſmitten with a gun: but there is no certainty.

Ye ſee, *Edward*, how glad I am to talk with you, and loth to depart from you, and therefore how confuſedly καὶ ἐ δι' ὀικονομίας I chop in things as they come.

Good *Thomas Leaver* only hath not deceived me, but written to me diligently. I will requite him, God willing.

* *Prick*, is *mark*, the point aimed at.

Seal

Seal your letters up well, *Edward*, or elſe they will be read many times ere they come hither. Make your packet of letters like a pack of cards; but keep the ſame proportion as I do in my letters.

At the cloſing up of this letter, word was brought, that the prince of *Spain* (whereas to-morrow I ſhould have gone into *Italy*, and ſo *per mare Mediter.* into *Spain)* is this day fallen ſore ſick of a phrenefis; that he was twice this day let blood. Yeſterday my lord was with, and bade him farewell; and then I ſaw him in his privy chamber.

I purpoſe within theſe ſeven days by the next poſt to write again to you, God willing. Now I bid you farewell in Chriſt, good *Edward*; for my paper is ſpent, and it is almoſt midnight, and to-morrow I write all day to the council. *Saluta omnes.* Shew *Edward Cuntrell* ſome of this news.——From *Auguſta*, 18 *Maii*, 1551.

R. A.

To my eſpecial friends Mr. Edward Raven, *and Mr.* William Ireland, *fellows of St.* John's.

S. P. in Chriſte Jeſus.

My good Mr. *Raven* and *Ireland*,

I Marvel not a little the cauſe of your ſilence, and that ſo many letters cannot deſerve one word again. I have written, that Mr. *Stephen Hales*, in the *White Friers* in *London*, can readily convey your letters. I would fain know the ſtate of *Cambridge*, and my affairs there, and eſpecially how my friends do. I cannot think ſo on you, that you have forgot me. I meaſure your good-will towards me by mine towards you. I would hear of all, and namely of Mr. *Maden* and his houſe, Mr. *Pember*, Mr. *Haddon*, Mr. *Barnwick*, *&c.*

The *Turk* is in *Hungary* with two hoſts; the one of one ſide *Danubius*, the other of the other ſide; 3000 horſemen in either: his navy of galleys at *Mileta Inſula*, where St. *Paul* was caſt up, 28.

The *French* give the biſhop of *Rome*'s men great overthrows at *Parma* and *Mirandola*.

The Emperor, 27 *Auguſti*, hath baniſhed the preachers proteſtant of *Auguſta* the whole empire. They were ten preachers, that all went hence the 28th of *Auguſt*. This day ſchoolmaſters are called before the council.

I have written at large to Mr. *Leaver*, for he only hath written to me; and yet I would have written at large to you, if I had leiſure; for I neither can nor will forget you, whatſoever unkindneſs I find in you. Yet I do not think it unkindneſs, but rather ſome juſt ſtop that ye have. As for you, *Ireland*, ye have been but a little while at home; and I know ye be ſlow to write of old; therefore I can better excuſe you. As for my *Edward Raven*, I know there is juſt occaſion, or elſe I had had letters ere this.

My lord is merry, and one that doth God and his prince as good ſervice as ever did ambaſſador. Mr. *Wotton* cometh home, and we tarry; and methinks I know what your Papiſts at home have talked of that matter.

I beſeech you, leave not *Cambridge* for none occaſion. I never loved it ſo well as I do at this day. I am a great man in *Demoſthenes*, and I truſt to make him better acquainted with *Cambridge* than he is there yet.

Keep my chamber, books, and ſtuff well. I would gladly hear that *Richard Aſteley* did well. Farewell in Chriſt. With haſte, the laſt of *Auguſt*, 1551.

To my aſſured friends the fellows of St. John's *college.*

S. P. in Chriſto Jeſu.

IF I ſhould as often have written to you, as I have remembered that good fellowſhip and my duty bounden, and my good-will bent to every one of you, ye ſhould receive every day letters from me.

Of

Of my journey I wrote plentifully unto you all, and ſince oft to Mr. *Raven* of matters here, and alſo to Mr. *Leaver*, which ye read, as I gueſs, in *Sturbridge* fair time. That honeſt company and quiet aboding I daily remember, and wiſh me often among you, and if it were but a problem fire-time; not becauſe I wiſh me from hence, being with ſo good a lord and lady, but for the good-will I owe to the houſe, to you all and every one. I take pleaſure in writing this letter, that is, in talking with you, in being at home for a while in St. *John*'s, from whence my heart can never be abſent. How glad I would be of two words from any of that houſe, none of you doth feel, that hath not been in like place. I never heard from *Cambridge* yet. I am content to put the fault on carriage, and do not miſtruſt your friendſhips.

Mr. *Leaver*, of all the reſt, either is more friendly, or more happy to me. I have two long letters from him.

Becauſe the Emperor goeth from *Auguſta* this next week towards *Inſpruck*, called in *Latin Oenopons*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and after, we think, to *Milan*, and ſo perchance to *Naples* and *Sicily*, if the *French* do not trouble our journey; therefore I thought to write in few words, as leiſure, which is little, will give me leave.

The *Turkiſh* cometh in with might and main by land and ſea. His quarrel by land into *Hungary* is this. Being three kings in *Hungary*, the *Turk* chief, next *Ferdinando*, the third *Joannes Vaivoda*, king of *Tranſylvania*, which is tributary to the *Turk*. *Joannes Vaivoda* is dead, leaving a young prince to be ruled by the queen his mother, and two governors. The one is called *Fra. George*, a frier, a biſhop, a papiſt, and therefore this laſt day made a cardinal. He is wiſe in council, and hardy in war. The other is called *Petrovitz*, a count, a wiſe and worthy gentleman, and one that favoureth God's word truly. *Fra. George* hath laboured ſecretly this twelvemonth to make *Ferdinando* king of *Tranſylvania*; ſo that the young prince *Vaivoda* be provided for honourably in another place, eaſier for him to maintain. The queen and count *Petrovitz* did not incline at the firſt to *Ferdinand*, loth to fall out with the *Turk*, which doth keep his promiſe moſt firmly where he doth make it, and doth revenge moſt cruelly him that doth break it. The *Turk* perceives

this practice all this year, and therefore laboured the queen not to break with him, promiſing her aid and help, as to his tributary, againſt all perſons that would do the young king wrong. At the laſt, *Fra. George* hath brought the queen and count *Petrovitz* to *Ferdinand*'s mind, and came all three to the king with all their power. This done, ſoldiers were gathered on both ſides. The baſſa of *Buda* (look where *Buda* ſtands in your map of *Danube)* was the *Turk*'s general for a while. He came this ſummer within ſix *Dutch* miles of *Vienna*, and gave the *Hungarians* a foul overthrow. He killed a great ſort; for of five enſigns that went from home with *Ferdinand*'s, there returned home but fifty perſons; and he carried into *Turkey* with him 7000 Chriſtian ſouls, men, women, and children; for they bid no better booty than to carry men away: they ranſom few, but kill or carry away all. *Ferdinando*'s ſide, after this, gave the *Turks* an overthrow; ſo that moſt cruelty hath been uſed on both ſides. A noble gentleman of *Ferdinando*'s court, which hath ſerved ſtoutly againſt the *Turks*, was taken and brought to the baſſa of *Buda*. Great ranſom was proffered, but none received. Certain great dogs were kept hungry, and after many ſpites and villanies done to the gentleman in priſon, he was brought forth, and tormenters appointed did caſt gobbets ſo cut to the dogs, that eat them in the gentleman's ſight. When ſo many gobbets were cut off, and caſt to the dogs, as life would afford, then the dogs were let looſe, and ſo tore him all in pieces. After this the *Hungarians* took three lords of *Turkey:* 6000 ducats were offered for their ranſom; but word was ſent to the baſſa, that if he himſelf came to their hands, as they truſted he ſhould, all the gold in *Turkey* ſhould not ſave him: and becauſe no *Turks* will eat ſwines fleſh, they would prove if ſwine would eat *Turks* fleſh; and ſo kept up ſwine from meat, which very cruelly devoured the *Turks* up. But now *Beglierbeglie Mahomet*, that hath married the *Turk*'s daughter, and is general ruler of all the *Turk*'s dominions in *Europe*, whole *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, is come into *Hungary* with two main hoſts, of either ſide *Danubius* one. He hath written ſharp letters to *Fra. George*, accuſing him for the ſtir of this war: and even yeſterday came word to this city, that *Beglierbeglie* hath won a great city from *Ferdinando*, and hath cut in pieces all the Chriſtian folk in it, and cometh on, bringing great terror to all *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, and eſpecially to *Fra. George*, that he knoweth not which way to turn him; inſomuch that many that came

to

to the king, be gone to the *Turk*'s ſide. All Chriſtendom ought to pray to God, as a moſt merciful Father, to caſt the rod in the fire: for even thus ſtands the caſe of *Hungary*.

Maximilian, the king of *Boeme*, *Ferdinando*'s eldeſt ſon, is much miſſed in this war, being now in *Spain* to fetch home his wife: for an *Hungarian* told me, where his father ſhould have one ſoldier for his money, he ſhould have three for his love and good-will owing him. The *Hungarians* hope it ſhall be *Maximilian* that ſhall drive the *Turk* out of *Hungary*: and it may well be ſo; for he is, as I wrote once, I trow, to Mr. *Raven*, a goodly perſon of ſtature and favour, liberal, gentle, wiſe, learned, ſpeaking eight tongues, hardy, painful, loved of all, except where envy repines; pleaſant without wildneſs, grave without pride, lowly to every one, and reverenced of all, and one whom all *Germany*, proteſtants and others, love and commend.

The *Turk*'s quarrel by ſea is this. *Andrew Dorea* took the city of *Algiers*, which ſtandeth in *Afric*, from *Dragunt Rais*, a *Turk*, *anno* 1550. The great *Turk* required this city again. Whether a promiſe of the delivery was either not made or not kept, I cannot tell; but the *Turk*'s navy is come ſo big, that they and the *French* rule all *mare Mediterraneum*. When they were once paſt *Eubœa*, and the point of *ſummum promontorium*, we had letters every week from *Venice* of them. They are 132 great gallies, beſides a huge galleot, full of wonderful great ordnance, wherein, as one that was in it ſaid, there was in it 4000 ſaddles of men of arms. This great navy brought ſuch terror with it, that the *Venetians* were fain afreſh to double man and victual *Corcyra*. *Sicilia* was afraid, *Naples* was afraid, *Rome* was afraid, *Genoa* was afraid, all *mare Mediterraneum* did tremble, whither this great navy would go. At laſt they light upon St. *Paul*'s iſle of *Melita*, now *Malta*, kept by the knights of *Rhodes*. Whether they would not or could not then win it, from thence they departed and came to *Tripoli*, a Chriſtian city in *Africa*, over-againſt *Sicilia*, kept by many knights of *Rhodes*, and well manned and victualled. The *Turks* gave cruel aſſaults, that the gun-ſhot was heard to *Malta*. They within aſked reſpite for certain days, and if aid came not from *Malta*, then to deliver the city. Reſpite was granted, and in this while they conveyed out of *Tripoli*

2000

2000 of old men, women, and children, which came all into the *Turk*'s hands. After that the city could not hold out; they gave up upon condition to have their lives. The *Turk* came in, and thirty knights of *Rhodes*, moſt part *Frenchmen*, were ſent to *Malta*: 200 of the ſtrongeſt ſoldiers were put in galleys, and all the reſt, young and old, were killed without mercy. The *Turk*'s promiſe was laid unto him, and he bid him lay the blame on thoſe that had taught *Turks* to break promiſe. Thus was *Tripoli* won this laſt *Auguſt*; ſuch a haven as ſcarce is like *in mare Mediterran.* which will receive 300 ſhips.

Tripoli may keep *Africa* from victuals, and is like to be an ill neighbour to *Sicilia* and *Italy*. The thirty knights of *Rhodes* went to *Malta*; but the great maſter calling a chapter, hath baniſhed them, as both falſe and *French*. They ſailed from thence, and by rage of water was driven upon *Sicilia*, and by the viceroy are taken every man, and caſt into priſon.

We looked that the *Turk* would ſtraitway have ſet upon *Malta*; but the whole navy is gone over into *Sinum Ambracium*, where *Auguſtus* gave *Anthony* the overthrow; and there, as we hear ſay, have taken up their lodging for this winter. News were brought hither, that many of the *Turk*'s galleys were drowned by over-thwarting the ſeas; ſome ſaid forty, ſome ſixteen, ſome nine: but the ambaſſador of *Venice* ſaith, that he heard in no letter that any ſhip took harm. And thus much of the *Turk*'s ſtirs both by ſea and land, as is moſt credibly known and confirmed to be true in this town and court.

Now Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ, the pope is in a wonderful chaſe: he abhors *Germany*; he is thruſt out of *France*; he miſtruſts the Emperor; and yet the Emperor hath more cauſe to miſtruſt him: the houſe of *Farneſe* have robbed him of his treaſure; the ſiege of *Parma* is given up, and *Mirandolo* cares not for him; his own houſhold wax *Lutherans*; none will come to his conſpiracy at *Trent* but ſuch as are ſworn that no good ſhall be done there; and if he do not hang himſelf before *October* is paſt, he cometh to *Bononia*; and if we go into *Italy*, and happen to meet with him, as we are likely, I will deſcribe him to you from top to toe.

Now

Now to come to *quicquid delirant reges*, ϗ πίπτε δε λαὸς: I beſhrew their hearts, either becauſe they begin now, or elſe becauſe they begin no ſooner, whilſt the weather was warmer; for now we muſt over the cold *Alps*, even now full of ſnow. The Emperor doth little yet; but the *French* be a great deal aforehand.

Of ſhips taken in thoſe ſeas towards you, ye know; and the prior of *Capua* the ſame time came to *Barcelona* in *Spain*, and uſing the cloak of the Emperor's arms, came quietly into the haven, and took away with him, in ſight of the *Spaniards*, ſeven goodly galleys. The *French* have a great hoſt in *Piedmont*, and have won divers cities, towns, and caſtles, and have well manned them, as *St. Damian Circuſco*, *Cheir*, *&c.* This *Cheir* is bigger than *Norwich*, as they ſay that have ſeen it. The Emperor took a foul injury in it; for the citizens opened the gates to the *French*, and they will keep the gates the faſter cloſe againſt the imperials, leſt they drink for this treachery. We look that all the war will be in *Piedmont*, and that the Emperor and *French* king will be both there in perſon. We imperials crack *France* out of meaſure, that it ſhall be beat down of all ſides with one mighty army out of *Spain*, one other out of *Flanders*, the third out of *Italy*. If I have convenient time and carriage, I will not fail to let you know the cauſe of all theſe ſtirs; and will be very glad to mark them, and as ready to write them unto you. The Emperor hath many irons in the fire, and every one able alone to keep him work enough; the *Turk* by land and ſea; the *French* ſitting on his ſkirts on all ſides, beſides *Madeburge*, *&c.*

The Emperor is wiſe enough, and it ſtands him in hand even now to be ſo. The *Turk* nor the *French* can either be weak enemies, or ſure friends: and therefore as [to] *Mädenburg*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the landgrave, there is even this day freſh talk, that the Emperor will uſe the gentler choice of thoſe two which the father gave to *Pontius* his ſon. Ye know the ſtory in *Livy*; for that way is not to be taken, *quæ neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit*: and therefore ambaſſadors from duke *Maurice*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, *Breme*, and other ſea-cities, from the kings of *Denmark* and *Pole*, are within ſix miles of this town; and, as men think, they are come not without the Emperor's means. If I ſhould talk of

Madeburg

Madeburg at length, it ſhould require more than a letter. They are thought more ſtrong and ſtout than they were this day twelvemonth. It is ſaid the Emperor required three perſons of *Madeburg*, their chief captain, the count of *Munsfelt*, their chief preacher, *Flacius Illyricus*, and another: but the town would not loſe one hair of their heads; and ſo they ſay all are forgiven. In this matter of *Madeburg*, and the two princes captives, I cannot as yet aſſure you the truth; for the matters be now in brewing: but, God willing, ye ſhall know ſhortly.

How the good preachers were baniſhed this town the 26th of *Auguſt* laſt, I wrote at large to Mr. *Leaver*. This buſineſs, if it were to do, it ſhould not be done now. The Emperor's council lay the doing to the heads of the town; and they lay it again to the biſhop of *Arras*, the Emperor's chief counſellor. The papiſts churches be as deſolate as ever they were; and yet here be more ſayers than hearers of maſs. The proteſtants conſtantly will come to neither. They have obtained to chriſten in *Dutch* as they did, and do marry without maſs. Every one in his own houſe, morning and evening, ſee their whole houſhold kneel down, and ſing pſalms, and the good man doth read a chapter of Scripture. Now proteſtant preachers are ſought for; but none dare come, for fear of the former handling.

Ye are weary, I am ſure, of my long talk: therefore I bid you all farewell, and I pray you pray for me. Commend me to all my friends in the town. I count good Mr. *Maden*, Mr. *Pember*, and Mr. *Zone*, St. *John*'s men. Commend me to Mr. *Redman*, Mr. *Haddon*, Mr. *Blythe*, Mr. *Sanders*, Mr. *Car*, Mr. *Barwick*, *&c.*; for if I ſhould name all that I would, my paper would not ſerve. I would I were at your problem-fire when you read this letter; then I would deſire Mr. *Downes*, and Mr. *Lector*, to remit the ſcholars a day of noule and puniſhment, that they might remember me, that can forget none of that houſe, praying God to make them all virtuous and learned, and eſpecially in the *Greek* tongue. Fare ye well in Chriſt.——From *Auguſta*, 12 *October*, 1551.

Yours, R. A.

Chariſſimis amicis meis Edwardo Raveno, et Gulielmo Irelando, ſocies collegii Divi Joannis Evang.

MY good *Raven* and *Ireland*, I leave chiding you, but I will not leave loving you, write you or write you not. I will be your friend, and you ſhall be mine, whether you will or not.

By Mr. *Leaver*'s letters you ſhall know how all things ſtand here, of the *Turks*, of the imperials, of the *French*, and of *Germany*. I have not leiſure to write twice of one matter; therefore I will him to communicate to you, and then you may do ſo to other my friends, as Mr. *Maden*, Mr. *Blythe*, Mr. *Haddon*, *&c.*

Sturmius goeth forward in *Rhetor. Ariſtot.* The firſt book is ſent to Mr. *Cheke*, which was purpoſed to me, but I had rather it ſhould be ſent to him. Mr. *John Hales*, my ſingular friend, ſent me a piece of his rhetoric this week. I never ſaw any thing more to be compared with antiquity, and ſo I truſt Mr. *Haddon* will judge. *Vahan* is writing it out a-pace: if he finiſh it before the poſt go, ye do receive it; if not now, ye ſhall have it ſhortly. *Sturmius* is in hand with *Analyſis Ciceron.* ſuch a book as I believe was never ſet out in our time. *Nobiliſſimi Worteri fratres* do give him to find him writers 4000 crowns a-year, for four years. *Sturmius* telleth Mr. *Hales*, that a better and more plentiful analyſis might be made of the *Greek* tongue; and he would make it, if he had help towards the coſts. Mr. *Hales* will write to many of the nobles in it, as he writes unto me; but I wrote unto him, that temporal lords will rather win this praiſe, than biſhops be brought to bear the charges. It were a ſhame if *England* lack this honour, and all learning this profit.

Ye muſt either content ye for news with Mr. *Leaver*'s letters, or feed ye with the hope of my next to come.

I am ſorry Mr. *Langdale* is gone from that college, although he did diſſent from us in religion; yet we know that God calleth men at divers hours at his pleaſure.

Commend me to good Mr. *Pember*, and tell him I truſt he received my letter in Lent. Tell him alſo, that yeſterday I ſaw a new coin, which I would he had, for all the old he hath. It was made in this houſe where we lie, at *Inſpruck*. It is very like a great *Suffolk* cheeſe as any cometh to *Sturbridge* fair, but ſomewhat thicker. It is even ſo heavy as two men can bear. There was molten for it, of fine ſilver, (for I ſaw the making of it) 6400 guilders: every guilder is worth 5 *s.* *Engliſh* and more, except our money be well amended.

Noble *Maximilian* and his wife be come out of *Spain*, and be in *Italy* coming hitherward. This country of *Tyrol*, where we be, which is under *Ferdinando*, doth preſent this goodly coin to queen *Mary*, *Maximilian*'s wife, which is the emperor's daughter, becauſe ſhe was never in *Germany* afore. This rich gift is given for *Maximilian*'s ſake, whom all men love above meaſure. There is of one ſide of this coin all the arms belonging io *Maximilian* and his wife; on the other ſtands queen *Mary* his wife's face, moſt lively printed, as the old antiquities be. Above her image be theſe words in *Latin*: *Sereniſſ. Duci Reginæ Boemiæ, ex familiâ Regum Hiſpaniæ, et Archiducum Auſtriæ progenitæ jamprimum in Germaniam venienti Tyrolienſium munus*, 1551. And although I favour *Maximilian*, yet I would Mr. *Pember* had it in his chamber. Tell Mr. *Pember* alſo, I do not forget old coins. I have the faireſt now that ever he ſaw in ſilver, and *Domitian cum anchorâ Aldi*, the *Fuggeri* have pecks of them. There is a worthy merchant called Mr. *Rem*, which had me into his houſe, and let me ſee a wonderful ſight *Greek* and *Latin*. He gave me four at my coming from *Auguſta*: the firſt was *Sulla Coſ.*; on the other ſide, *C. Pompeius Rufus F. Coſ.*: the ſecond had on the one ſide, *Faſces Imperii*; on the other ſide, an elephant, and under his feet *Cæſar*: the third had on the one ſide, *Cæſar. Imp. Pont. Max.* III. *Vir.*: the fourth, a goodly face, and about it *M. Brutus Imp.*; on the other ſide, two daggers, and in the midſt a thing like a bell, having written underneath, *Id Martis*. I bought alſo at *Auguſta* a ſtrange old face, with long hair; on the other ſide, in *Greek*, ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. Mr. *Rem* ſhewed me alſo a coin, with a rude face in ſilver, thick, and about it, in *Greek*, φιλιππου. I

Commend

Commend me to good Mr. *Pember*, and all my friends, beeauſe I will leave out none. Commend me to my hoſteſs *Barnes*, Dr. *Maden*, *&c.* to all at *Wittam*. I tell you once again, Mr. *Stephen Hales* at *London* can convey your letters. Farewell. My lord calls.——From *Inſpruck*, the 17th of *November*, 1551. R. A.

I am glad *Vahan* writes to you. By him you ſhall know more. Gentle *Raven* and *Ireland*, look to my duties for the *Greek* tongue and my oratorſhip. I would be loth but to hear tell the ſcholers went forward therein.

F I N I S.

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